DIAMOND MINING SETTLEMENTS IN CENTRAL KONO DISTRICT, SIERRA LEONE

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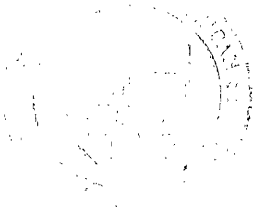

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BY

DAVID CLIVE KING

Abstract

Central Kono District in the Eastern part of Sierra Leone, West Africa, experienced a series of diamond rushes between 1950 and the mid-1970's. By 1975 the diamond deposits were becoming exhausted and further rapid increases in mining activity seemed unlikely.

As a result of these diamond rushes the population and settlement geography of central Kono District was radically changed. A distinct hierarchy of settlements and a network of communications developed. Urbanisation was a phenomenon new to Kono District, but by the 1970's central Kono was the largest urban area in Sierra Leone outside the capital, and its principal town, Koidu, had become the second largest town in the country. New urban forms were introduced and new patterns of settlements resulted, influenced by the distribution of diamond mining areas. The population of central Kono, and especially of the towns, changed with widespread immigration from the rest of Sierra Leone and from surrounding countries. The population diversified ethnically, culturally and occupationally. New functions and facilities to serve the larger and wealthier pooulation developed, especially in Koidu.

With the decline in diamond mining, some people have already left the area, and more may leave in the future, but it is expected that many people will remain in the area and especially in Koidu. Some step migration islikely to occur up the hierarchy of settlements. The larger settlements, especially Koidu, have already become major commercial centres.

This study describes, both temporally and spatially, the mining settlements and their relationships with immigration; the ethnicity and occupations of the immigrants; household structures; and the forms and functions of the settlements.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.M.S.	Alluvial Diamond Mining Scheme
A.P.C.	All Peoples' Congress
C.A.S.T.	Consolidated African Selection Trust
C.B.D.	Central Business District
C.S.O.	Central Selling Organisation (De Beers)
DICOR(WAF)	Diamond Corporation of West Africa
D.O.	District Office
D.P.C.	Democratic People's Congress
D.P.F.	Diamond Protection Force
E.U.B.	Evangelical United Brethren (later U.M.C.)
G.D.O.	Government Diamond Office
I.D.B.	Illicit Diamond Buying
I.D.M.	Illicit Diamond Mining (or Miner)
K.P.M.	Kono Progressive Movement
K.D.C.	Kono District Council
M.A.D.A.	Mining Areas Development Authority
N.A.	Native Administration
N.D.M.C.	National Diamond Mining Company also called DIMINCO (after 1970)
N.R.C.	National Reformation Council
P.C.	Paramount Chief
S.D.O.	Senior District Officer
S.L.P.I.M.	Sierra Leone Progressive Independence Movement
S.L.P.P.	Sierra Leone Peoples' Party
S.L.S.T.	Sierra Leone Selection Trust (before 1970)
U.M.C.	United Methodist Church

CHAPTER ONE

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, PEOPLES AND HISTORY OF SIERRA LEONE AND KONO

Physical Geography and History of Sierra Leone

Though a small country of only 27,925 sq. miles in area, Sierra Leone contains a great variety within its borders. The Guinea Highlands occupy the eastern third of Sierra Leone, extending into Guinea and Liberia. These mountains form an undulating plateau of between 1,000 feet and 1,500 feet. The edge of the plateau in Sierra Leone runs from north to south forming an impressive scarp across the middle of the country. In the south east the highlands have been dissected and denuded into ranges of lower hills. The Guinea Highlands consist of granite and acid gneisses, monadnocks of which rise to over 6,000 feet in the Loma and Tingi mountains, which are on the northern boundary of Kono District. Other ranges of mountains rise from the plateau to 2,500 to 3,000 feet and are formed from metamorphic schists. These rocks are rich in minerals, and it was mainly in the metamorphic Sula mountains of central Sierra Leone that gold mining took place. West of the plateau is an interior plain, mainly of sedimentary rocks overlying ancient granites and gneisses, with a coastal plain of sands and gravels through which drain the estuaries of Sierra Leone's many rivers. Finally, the Freetown peninsula is a totally separate and unusual phenomenon; a steep mountain range, formed of a hard intrusive Gabbro loppolith, rises from the sea.

Both the mountainous Freetown peninsula and the western scarp of the plateau increase the amount of rainfall. Sierra

Leone's coastal position, directly facing the monsoonal winds from the Atlantic, causes a very heavy monsoonal wet season from late June to mid-September. For the remainder of the wet season, between May and November, violent storms and line squalls are caused by the passage of the humid air over the mountains. The maximum areas of heavy rainfall are along the coast, especially on the Freetown peninsula and on the western scarp of the plateau in central Sierra Leone. The wet season rainfall on the eastern plateau is less excessive than elsewhere in the country, but the plateau receives a greater amount of dry season rainfall in the form of thunderstorms. Most of the country has more than 2500 millimetres of rainfall a year, and even the far north of Sierra Leone has more than 200 centimetres.

Temperatures are also at their most extreme on the plateau, becoming lowest when the north easterly harmattan wind blows from December to early February. Humidity at this time is very low, but for the rest of the year it is above 50% throughout Sierra Leone. The hottest month is March, whilst the lowest maximum temperatures occur during the wet season.

The decrease of rainfall to the north, greater length of the dry season, and man have resulted in a savanna grassland vegetation that extends as far south as central Kono. The rest of the country must once have been forested. Remnants of the original forest cover, even that now probably secondary, occur on some of the mountain ranges, especially in the east. Most of the rest of the country is farm bush, a degraded forest and grassland vegetation

resulting from centuries of shifting agriculture and roational bush fallow.

The quantity of rain that falls on Sierra Leone results in a dense drainage pattern. Most rivers are large in volume and short in length, draining directly from the Guinea Highlands Plateau in a south-westerly direction to the sea. The River Sewa, one of Sierra Leone's largest rivers, and presently the most important as the river that has distributed the diamondiferous gravels across the country, takes its source from two rivers in Kono, which rise from the Loma and Tingi mountains. From the other side of the watershed of the Tingi mountains, inside Guinea, the River Niger takes its source, flowing for 2,000 miles in contrast to the Sewa's 200 miles.

The colony of Sierra Leone was founded in the late eighteenth century by Britain on the Freetown peninsula for the settlement of freed slaves. As the colony grew and became prosperous, the freed slaves, called Creoles, traded with indigenous Africans in the areas surrounding the peninsula. River estuaries along the coast are navigable and facilitated easy trade. There was a gradual expansion of influence by the Creole traders over Bullom to the north and the Sherbro area to the south east. Commercial expansion was followed by British military protection and treaties with indigenous chiefs. By the late 19th century France appeared as a rival power on the edge of the Sierra Leone colony's sphere of influence, so that in 1895 the boundary of Sierra Leone was fixed by an agreement between Britain and France. The peripheral areas were not precisely

known and, as was common throughout Africa, boundaries were fixed by mathematical lines and physical features, such as watersheds and rivers (Fyfe 1962).

In the same year the government started to build a railway line. Finally completed in 1914, the line eventually ran from Freetown through Bo in the south to Pendembu in the south east, with a branch line from Bauya to Magburaka and Makeni in the centre.[1] Development of the Protectorate took place from the railway line during the 1920's and 30's as European companies established buying stations along the line. The produce trade had previously taken place in a small way from the coastal hinterland down the navigable rivers. Some of this trade still continued through the port of Bonthe, but now a larger area of the south and centre was opened to trade as produce was head-loaded down to the railway buying stations. This early trade developed the cash economy and generated urbanisation in the areas that had proximity to the railway line. From the railway, feeder roads were built north and south into the interior (Van der Laan 1975). However, Kono and the North East were too far from the railway to benefit substantially from the produce trade and thus stayed out of the cash economy.

Gold mining started in the 1930's. Although it was never of major importance, it involved both European companies as well as African and Lebanese licensed miners, giving the latter groups valuable experience and confidence. This was later to prove important when African and Lebanese miners challenged the much

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1. In 1968 the closure of the railway line began.

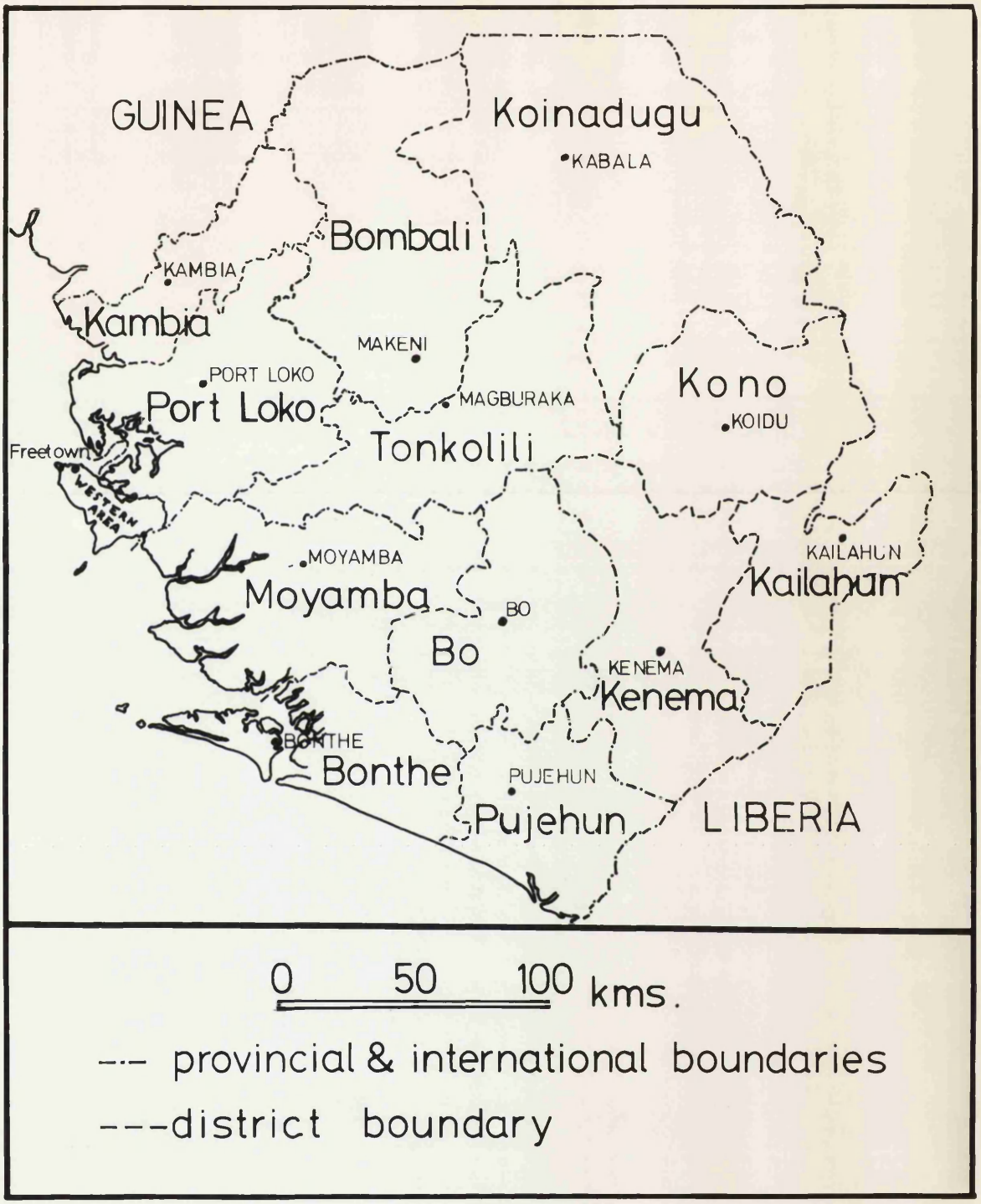

Figure 1. Sierra Leone - Political

larger European company in the diamond fields (Van der Laan 1975). Gold mining declined in the early 1950's as the diamond rush got under way. Since then the economic history and development of Sierra Leone has been dominated by diamonds.

There were many changes in numbers and sizes of districts, as well as chiefdoms, during colonial times, but, since independence, Sierra Leone has been divided into the Western Area and three provinces: the Northern Provice with five districts - Kambia, Port Loko, Bombali, Tonkolili and Koinadugu; the Southern Province with four districts - Moyamba, Sherbro, Pujehun and Bo; and the Eastern Province with three districts - Kailahun, Kenema and Kono. The main diamond mining districts are Kono, Kenema and Bo.

These same three districts with Kailahun form one of the areas of high population density in the country, with both urban and rural high densities. The other area of high population density occurs in the north west, which includes Freetown and the Western Area and the Bullom region in Kambia and Port Loko Districts. Throughout the rest of Sierra Leone, towns are few and rural population density decreases, especially towards the middle and north of the country.

Ethnic Groups

The Sierra Leone diamond rush attracted people from all over West Africa, especially from the surrounding countries. Many of the 'foreigners' who came to the diamond fields were of the Manding language group which includes the Kono people as well as the Mende, Loko, Susu, Vai, Koranko, Yalunka and Mandingo, all of whom are settled in Sierra Leone.

Ideas of political and religious organisation probably spread from Egypt through the Upper Nile region into the savanna grasslands of east and west Africa. This spread of ideas, combined with immigration from North Africa, was probably influential in the rise of the Sudanic states of Ghana, Mali or Melle, Songhai and Kanem-Bornu. Old Ghana was predominantly peopled by the Soninke, a Manding language group. This state was succeeded by the empire of Mali which was centred on the middle Niger flood plain. As Mali extended its influence into the eastern neighbouring Songhai state it was conquered and absorbed by Songhai. At its greatest extent in the 14th century Mali/Songhai occupied all the land north of the forest zone as far east as Kanem-Bornu, and included what is now Guinea. Mali/Songhai became a Muslim empire, trading with North Africa. At the end of the 16th century Moroccan soldiers armed with muskets attacked the empire for its gold, destroying its central government. Mali/Songhai broke into tribal units with the peripheral areas suffering the greatest instability (Oliver and Fage 1962).

The Manding people of the southern periphery included the Kono people whose known oral history begins at about the same time as the break up of Mali (Peterson 1975). The Temne, Bullom and Limba people speak similar languages and mainly occupy the north west of Sierra Leone. They are thought to have migrated from the interior to the coast and have probably been in the Sierra Leone area for the longest period. The Temne form about 30% of Sierra Leone's population. The Mende probably entered Sierra Leone from the east, through the coastal lowlands, settling the

southern half of the country and now forming about 31% of the population of Sierra Leone. Smaller ethnic groups have been virtually absorbed by the Mende. The Loko in the centre of northern Sierra Leone speak a language similar to the Mende and may have preceded the Mende into the country.

In the east the Kono, Koranko and Kissi moved into the area from further north. The Koranko are mainly to the north of the Kono, whereas the Kissi are mainly east of the Kono and in Guinea. Mandingo people mainly moved into Sierra Leone during the last hundred years, often as traders, and are distributed throughout the country, mainly in the small towns.

The Fula originate from the west coast of West Africa. As pastoral nomads they have continually moved eastwards in search of grazing and water for their cattle. As a result they are now distributed throughout the savanna grasslands of West Africa, from Senegal to Chad, including northern Sierra Leone. During the 18th century the Fulas of the Futa Jallon in Guinea, became fervent Muslims and initiated a Jihad, setting out to convert neighbouring peoples. While this spread Islam to many of the peoples of Sierra Leone, it caused further ethnic displacement as the Susu and Yalunka moved away from the Futa Jallon further into present day Sierra Leone and nearer to the coast (Fyfe 1962).

These, then, are the main Sierra Leonean people involved in the diamond rush into Kono; but many diamond miners have migrated from outside the country owing to the ease of movement across international boundaries. Sierra Leone has boundaries of 397 miles with Guinea and 158 miles with Liberia. Less than half a dozen roads cross these borders and no roads lead from Kono to

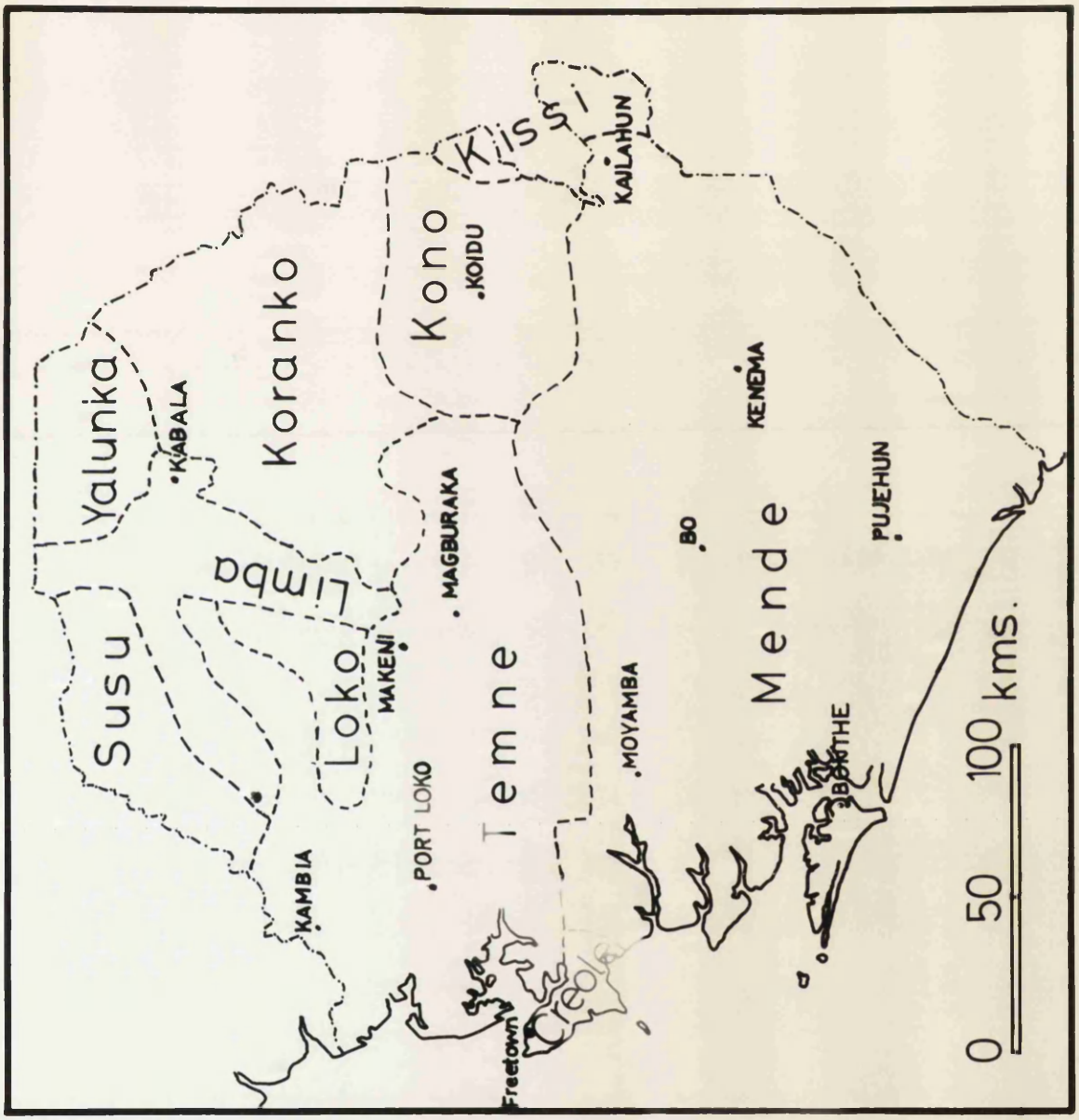

Figure 2. Ethnic Areas of Sierra Leone

Guinea, although the 1:50,000 scale maps of eastern Kono indicate a great number of motorable tracks going up to the border on both sides. The Guinean border is patrolled ineffectually by Guinean troops in an attempt to keep Guineans in their country, but movement across all the borders is easy and constant.

Ethnic groups divided across international boundaries benefit especially. These include the Susu, Yalunka, Fula, Kissi and Mandingo. Members of these groups continually cross the border, and many Guineans once inside Sierra Leone can easily claim to be Sierra Leoneans, although often they freely admit where they are from. The number of Guineans in Sierra Leone probably runs into hundreds of thousands as they are both attracted by the easier conditions for trading in Sierra Leone and repelled by the régime in Guinea.

Access to Sierra Leone is also fairly easy, overland through Guinea or Liberia, from Senegal, Gambia and Mali. There are affinities of tribe, religion, culture and language group, which have attracted large numbers of Fula, Mandingo, Wolof, Bambara and Serahuli people from these countries.[2] The Liberians involved in the diamond rush were less significant and generally did not go to Kono, but mined in the south amongst their Mende neighbours.

Other people for whom access into Sierra Leone was relatively easy, came from Nigeria and Ghana utilising colonial and commonwealth links. These were mainly Fainte (usually fishermen) and Hausa from Ghana, and Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo from Nigeria. Groups

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2. The Serahuli from Gambia are referred to as Marakas in Sierra Leone. Sometimes the term Maraka is given both to Serahuli and Wolof and sometimes to all Gambians, and even Maleans.

who came to trade in Sierra Leone were the Mandingo, Fula, Hausa, Serahuli and Wolof. People from these tribes found it very easy to transfer from retail trade, possessing some capital, into diamond dealing and smuggling. The ease of movement that enabled many of them to reach Sierra Leone also facilitated easy smuggling (Fleming 1957).

A completely foreign group in Sierra Leone are the Lebanese traders who first entered the country at the end of the 19th century as petty traders, went into the produce trade in the provinces and established themselves in small towns and villages throughout the country as shopkeepers and wholesale produce buyers. With plenty of capital they were able to take part in diamond mining, dealing and smuggling as large scale entrepreneurs. Their popularity has fluctuated widely during this century, but they do generally have a stake in the country. In 1968 there were about 8,000 Lebanese in Sierra Leone - the largest non-African foreign group (Van der Laan 1975). They are distributed in the main towns, especially Freetown and the larger diamond mining towns.

Physical Geography and Geology of Kono

The physical position of Kono isolated it from development in Sierra Leone during the colonial period until the diamond rush occurred, forcing very rapid change upon the area. Kono is roughly circular, about 50 miles across, and lies on the plateau of the Guinea Highlands at altitudes of 1,000 to 1,500 feet. Most of central Kono is at 1,200 feet from which rise isolated hills to about 1,500 feet.

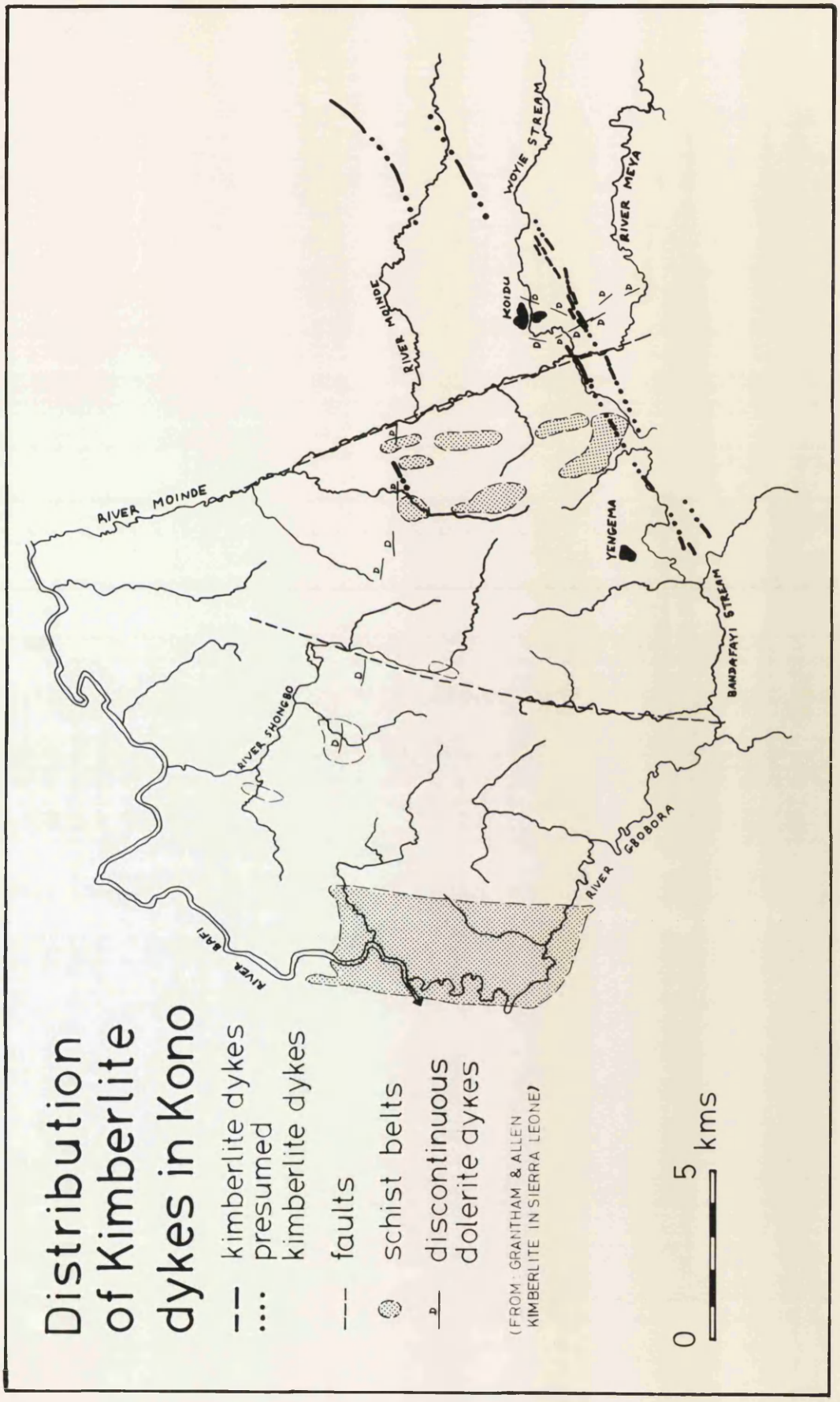

Figure 3. Diamond Sources

The central area of Kono is virtually ringed by ranges of mountains and broken hills. The western edge is bounded by the Nimini Hills. Formed of Kambui schist, they rise above 2,000 feet to a plateau level and run north to south into the Kambui Hills. Other areas of schist result in a low range of hills to the east of and parallel to the Niminis. North of the Niminis the Bafi river drains west to join the Bagbe which flows from the north, thus forming the river Sewa which flows in a southerly to south-westerly direction. North from the Nimini Hills and Bafi river a range of broken hills and monadnocks continues northwards, culminating in the Loma mountains massif just north of the Kono District boundary. There is a wide gap of an undulating grassland plain in Northern Kono, between the Loma and Tingi-Niger mountains. Both massifs rise above 6,000 feet.

Eastern Kono is crossed by the Kongotan mountains, aligned roughly north east to south west, extending southwards to the Gori Hills, which start at 4,000 feet and run north to south into Kenema District, where they are much lower. The southern part of Kono is a dissected and broken country with routes along the feet of both the Gori and Nimini Hills.

The central basin is relatively level with easy communications. Routes through the sparsely populated and thickly forested mountains bring one suddenly on to the extensive plain with its urbanised industrial centre of the Koidu/Yengema conurbation. The drainage pattern of the central basin is trellised, largely influenced by the north-south trend of the relief and by fairly recent fault lines which are usually aligned from north-east to south-west or from north-west to south-east.

With the exception of the metamorphic schists of the Nimini Hills and its outliers, the plateau is of granite and gneiss. It was part of the Gondwanaland surface which in the late Cretaceous era extended to the level of the present peaks of the Loma and Tingi mountains, 6,000 feet plus, above the present sea level. These two mountain peaks represent all that is left of the original land surface.

Diamonds occur in the kimberlite dykes, a soft easily weathered intrusive rock. Both industrial and gem diamonds occur, but there is a particularly high incidence of good quality gemstones. The kimberlite dykes do not extend vertically far below the present land surface but the highest kimberlite outcrop has been found at 2,500 feet, suggesting that more than 1,000 feet of the dykes has been eroded since their formation. The dykes occur in a zone aligned east-north-east to west-south-west to the south of Koidu, mainly in the valley of the Woyie Stream.[3] The dykes are discontinuous, which suggests that most of the Kimberlite material has probably been eroded and transported already (Grantham and Allen 1962).

After weathering and erosion of the dykes the material was carried away by the streams and rivers of central Kono, often being deposited as gravel in the same river valley close to the original source. Considerable river capture appears to have taken place, accentuated by the more recent faults, so that rivers which no longer drain from the source area contain diamondiferous gravels

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3. Another source area of diamonds occurs around Lalehun in Upper Bambara Chiefdom in Kenema District. The Kono source is the largest and its diamonds are spread more widely in the Sewa valley.

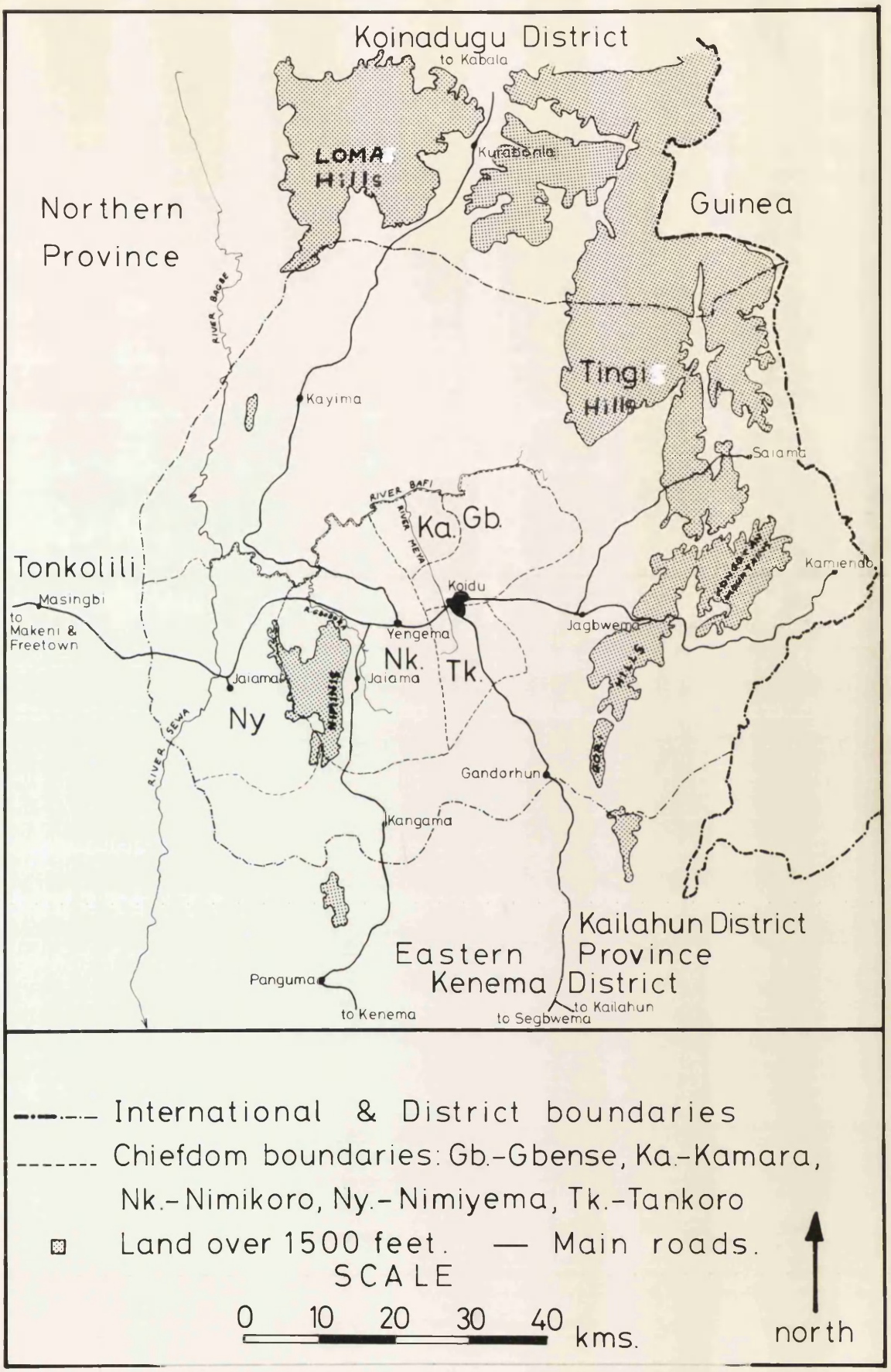

Figure 4. Kono District

within their valleys. The rivers Meya, Woyie and Moinde drain the Koidu source area, from east to west into the south-east to north-west Moinde/Meya fault valley which contains rich alluvial deposits. From the Moinde confluence with the Bafi river and downstream there are diamondiferous gravels. Other river valleys containing diamondiferous gravels are the Bandafayi and its tributaries, the Gbobora and the Shongbo.

In the source area diamonds have been distributed widely. Outside the source areas diamondiferous gravels occur in alluvial deposits of the river beds or of the flood plain. A few higher river terrace deposits also occur, especially in the Bafi and Sewa rivers. A final type of alluvial deposit occurs in the swamps (Akinwunmi 1967; Van der Laan 1965). These swamps may have been the result of river capture or of rivers changing direction. Thus although the Bafi and Sewa rivers have distributed diamonds throughout the lower Sewa valley in Bo and Kenema districts, the richest deposits are in central Kono, especially in the source area between Koidu and Yengema.

Kono History and Traditional Society

After the collapse of the Mali/Songhai Empire the Kono people migrated from the east into the area that is now their land. This movement took place between 1600 and 1800 (Peterson 1975, Parsons 1964). Steatite, or soapstone, carvings of figures, called Nomoli, are found in the soil throughout Sierra Leone, including Kono, indicating that different people may have dwelt there in earlier times, before the Manding migrations. Kono tradition asserts that the Kono people originated from the Fouta Jallon; a hill called Konosuko which means 'under the Kono root'. In the same area of Guinea, the Lelli people today speak a similar language and have

some customs strongly resembling those of the Kono (Minikin 1971). When the Kono entered the area, one group of their people continued to the coast in search of salt, eventually settling near the mouth of the Moa river. They are now called the Vai, but speak a language almost identical to Kono.

The Kono continued moving within their area even after starting to settle there. Kono society was dynamic, and responsive to changes and ideas borrowed from other tribal groups (Peterson 1975, Matturi 1975). As a small pioneer group constantly threatened and endangered, this adaptation ensured their survival as a group. During their long periods of war with the Mende, their southern neighbours, the Kono copied the idea of the Mende secret war society, the Poro, which continues today to serve as a powerful cultural and political unifying link for the Kono. The official language in the Poro society is still Mende (Tiafoe 1965).

The Kono never developed a centralised political organisation but dissipated in small groups under the protection of warrior chiefs, who were as likely to rob the farmers of their crops and enslave them as they were to protect them from enemies (Parsons 1964). The Kono are divided into fifteen clans, each with its own totem and food taboo. Although the clans no longer conform to chiefdom boundaries, in earlier times they were often led by warriors and inter-clan warfare was quite common (Langley 1932).

The Kono first settled the eastern part of Kono District - the savanna grassland area that is now Lei chiefdom. By 1890 the areas ruled by Kono chiefs were Sando, Lei, Gbense, Soa, Nimi and Gbane. Not all the chiefs of these parts were totally independent as the Mende exerted powerful influence over the south, especially Nimi chiefdom, while the Mandingo Sofa , and the Kissi constantly threa-

tened the east (Minikin 1971). Thus in pre-colonial times neither chiefs nor chiefdoms were firmly established, but often dependent upon external support to ensure their continued existence (Rosen 1974).

At the end of the 19th century, as France extended its influence in the sudanic grasslands and up the Niger valley, a Mandingo trader, Samori Turay, organised an army of mounted warriors to conquer the area of Guinea. These soldiers were known as the Sofa . By the early 1890's after clashing with the French they had gradually been driven eastwards and were fighting in the area of Guinea to thenorth east of Kono. Britain, as a rival imperial power, encouraged the Sofa in their battle against France by allowing them free access to Freetown to buy arms and powder. At the same time the Sofa were raiding and killing the Kono, thus forcing some Kono chiefs to seek protection from the French. Britain also maintained relations with the Mende and Temne, both of whom frequently attacked and raided into Kono country. By 1893 no British expedition had entered Kono while at the same time Britain supported most of the Kono's enemies.

In 1893 a French expedition under Lieutenant Maritz entered the east of Sierra Leone to delimit the boundaries between British and French spheres of influence. Several Kono chiefs, especially Chief Kwiwa of Soa, signed a treaty with Maritz, at Waima, in Soa chiefdom. Maritz at this time described Kono as 'very rich, with fields of guinea corn, cotton, rice etc., in great quantity' (Savin d'Orfond 1958, p.130). He also described the walled war settlement of Tekuyema, which was then occupied

by Sofa warriors. The French drove the Sofa out of Tekuyema, and Maritz suggested extending the boundaries of the French Sudan westwards to the Bagbe and Bafi rivers, thus taking in most of Kono. After the French had left Kono, a large British force entered and camped at Waima. Chief Kwiwa attempted to play the French and British off against one another, so that he could join the victorious group, by informing the French that the Sofa had returned to Waima. The result was a confused battle between several hundred French and British soldiers, each thinking the other to be the Sofas. Although it was a brief mistake, thirty-six French soldiers, including Maritz, were killed. Less than a month later, while the British were engaged in driving the Sofa out of Kono, another French force captured Chief Kwiwa and executed him. This ended hope of further French influence in Kono, while Sofa domination was ended by 1894. Unfortunately, in the wake of the British force the Kunike Temne and Mende invaded Kono, devastating large tracts (Savin d'Orfond 1958). The devastation wrought by the Kunike Temne has resulted in a no-man's land west of the Bagbe and Sewa rivers, which in the early 1900's extended for 'two days march' (Williams 1909). This area is still sparsely populated today.

After the Waima incident a boundary between French and British interests was hurriedly drawn, dividing the Yalunka, Koranko and Kissi peoples, but including the Kono in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. Chiefdom boundaries were also fixed fairly arbitrarily, according to the areas of warrior chiefs then existing. These chiefdoms were subdivided to weaken the power of the chiefs. After the devastation of 1894, Fasuluko of Sando, Kaimachende of central

Kono and Matturi of Nimi had become very powerful. New chiefdoms were created, often under members of the original chief's family. The result was an inbuilt chieftaincy dispute, although disputes between chiefdoms lessened (Minikin 1971). In 1905 there was a Kissi war, in which the Kissi raided and occupied villages throughout Kono. After this had been put down many Kissi settled, often in separate new villages, in central Kono.

The post-colonial chiefdoms of Kono are Gbense, Tankoro, Kamara, Fiama and Nimikoro in central Kono, and Sando, Lei, Tolli, Gbane-Mafindo, Soa, Gbane, Gorama Kono and Nimiyema. Lei and Gbane-Mafindo contain many Kissi, Gbane, Gorama Kono and Nimiyema contain some Mende, while Koranko are settled in northern Sando, Lei and Tolli chiefdoms.

There were sixteen large fortified villages in Kono in 1890, but by 1908 the only settlements resembling a small town were Jaiama Nimikoro and Kayima in Sando (Parsons 1964). Early travellers to Sierra Leone, for example Pereira in the 16th century and Laing in the 19th century, had noticed towns in Temne, Koranko and Mende country, but there is no record of towns having existed in Kono. Urbanisation in the Sierra Leone Protectorate was initiated by the slave and produce trades and colonial administration. Early towns in coastal Temne country were pre-colonial, while the colonial produce trade encouraged town growth in Mende country. Kono however remained isolated and rural. Some villages received a growth impetus when missions began to penetrate Kono after 1910 but by 1930 only seven settlements had missions and schools, and these remained small.

The Kissi organised extensive trade using their own currency,

the Kissi Penny. While this trading zone extended to other tribal groups, the Kono were not involved. Kono remained outside the money economy until the 1930's with cotton country cloth being used as the main form of currency. Even in the early 1950's Lewis described Kono as a land that was poor, remote and stricken with sleeping sickness, amd stated that most of Kono was still unpenetrated by roads (Lewis 1954).

It is no longer possible, according to Rosen (Rosen 1974) to find people anywhere in Kono living in the manner of the Kono before the colonial era. A more important change to the life-style of the Kono came with the beginning of the diamond era. In the rural, non-diamond mining areas, the village way of life and beliefs are still much as they were before the diamond era. Thus a description of the pre-diamond rush Kono village and way of life may rely upon observations made before 1950 and observations of rural life in remote areas, away from the roads, today.

The old style of Kono house is a round building about fifteen feet in diameter, without windows, but having a narrow doorway, the step of which is raised above ground level. The walls are built of mud and wattle and the conical thatched roof overlaps the walls to protect them from rain. The floor is of hard packed earth. Sometimes there is a small veranda, in which case the circular wall is straightened to incorporate the veranda under the thatch. The inside of the building may be divided into sleeping booths containing mats, and all belongings including cages of chickens, are kept inside at night, when a door of wood or matting is closed. Cooking is usually done inside the building. Often

each wife has a separate building in which she sleeps with her own children. In this case the husband has his own house. Each woman feeds and supports her own children, usually tending her own farm and vegetable garden. The young men and adolescent boys in the village may also sleep in a separate building, but eat with their own mothers, or 'adopted' mother in the case of a young man from outside the village, who may be working there as a farm labourer.

The smallest type of Kono village may be populated by just one man and his wives and children, with perhaps his aged parents, younger brothers and sometimes a farm labourer from outside the family. Such a village may consist of from two or three houses, up to ten, usually distributed along the track in a linear pattern, surrounded by tall trees, which almost always include some silk cotton trees. The trees formed a protection against enemies, as a war fence could easily be built between the trees' trunks in times of danger. Such a village is called Kongo, or Kor. It has no headman, but always has a burial ground, which is sacred.

Throughout this century and possibly earlier, rectangular houses have been increasingly constructed. It is common to find one rectangular house in a small village, often with a corrugated iron (pan) roof, while the other buildings are round. The senior man of the village often lives in a round house, while the women and children occupy the newer building which is usually where visitors are entertained. The young men remain separate, even if the whole family is housed in a rectangular, multi-roomed house, usually having a separate building behind the house.

Large multi-family villages can be up to 50 houses in size. This kind of settlement is called Du, meaning town. It has a chief, it may have a barrie, or thatched shelter with hammocks, for meetings and court cases, and there will usually be skilled craftsmen in the village, such as a blacksmith, native doctor, weavers and hunters. Apart from the sacred sites there will usually be a Tamba Tina in the centre of the village - the spear resting place of the founder of the village. Section villages may be larger, always multi-family, with the section chief resident. The section village may also have its own secret society bush. The pattern of the Du settlements is usually clustered and nuclear with an open centre that contains the barrie, Tamba Tina and sometimes small items for sale, such as cigarettes and kola nuts.

The Paramount Chief's town often has over 100 houses, sometimes divided into sections with town section chiefs as well as a town chief, a speaker (or assistant Paramount Chief) and a town crier. The Paramount Chief rules the chiefdom, holding the land in trust for the ancestors. The people of the chiefdom are given land to farm each year according to their needs and status. Nobody owns land in Kono. The Paramount Chief used to be able to demand forced labour, to make his own farm. This sometimes still occurs, but as the chiefs are paid a salary by the government, they only have the right to demand communal labour, which is usually used in the construction or improvement of community facilities such as bridge construction, path clearance and the building of motor roads to the Chief's farm.

Most villages are still self-sufficient, but are able to export a surplus of produce. There is still a 'hungry season' around August and September, before the new year's rice is harvested. The Kono grow upland rice on a rotional fallow system, farming a plot of land for one year, then resting it usually for ten to twelve years, although the rest period is decreasing as population pressure increases.[4] Permanent plantations of tree crops occur, but the individual may only own the trees as long as he tends them, and has no rights to the land. A rotated cultivation of 'gardens' takes place in low lying fields, often near to the village, tended by the women and children to grow tubers, vegetables, fruit and maize.

Hunting and gathering rights on cultivated or unused land are granted separately to individuals by the Paramount Chief in return for a tribute, or share of the harvest. Farm and village work is rigidly divided between men and women. Clearing of the land in February and March, the building of the field shelter and barns and sowing in April and May, are done by the men. Oversight and weeding are done by the women and children, while everyone assists in the harvest in October and November. Most other crops are grown by the women, who also do most fishing and preparation of cotton for weaving, which is a male occupation. House and fence building is also a male job, mainly taking place in the dry season. The secret societies and major ceremonies also take place in the dry season.

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4. Older people have suggested that in the 1930's much more land was farmed, and that the rest period was considerably less. Parsons suggests that the usual rest period was 6 to 9 years at this time, and that population pressure further reduced the fallow.

The Kono believe that the fertility of the soil is affected by the conduct of people. Thus there are elaborate procedures for maintaining fertility, to be carried out at all stages of rice cultivation. Similarly, in the event of misfortune and sickness there are rites to counteract the evil forces or individual sins that are responsible. The Kono religion is family based. There are priests, called Bengenes, and witchdoctors, but their role is principally in an advisory and helpful capacity. Family unity and co-operation are strong with the extended family system still very important, even in the new mining towns. The individual is subordinate to the family, although clan and tribal unity is less strong. Religion conserves and protects society, providing the rules on which Kono society is based, but at the same time being creative and dynamic in allowing society to respond to change.

The main secret societies are the Sande for girls, Poro for boys and the Sumoe, a boys' secret society in Sando chiefdom. All have declined in the standard of instruction given as the length of time initiates spend in the society has declined from several years to a few weeks or even days. Apart from war connotations the societies educated young people when they reached puberty, to prepare them for adult entry into the life of Kono society. A Kono girl may not marry until after she graduates from the Sande (now usually called the Gbondu society). The Sumoe of Sando still trains some boys in ceremonies, rites and medicines to enable them to work as Bengenes. But despite the general decline in value of the secret societies, they still have a powerful symbolic importance in unifying Kono culture. Although

the Paramount Chief is a powerful figure with the backing of the government, he is elected by the men of the chiefdom, and can also be over-ruled and censured in the Poro society.

The giving of gifts is important in Kono, with expensive transactions taking place at marriage, entry of children into the secret societies, and tributes to the chief for farming, hunting and gathering rights. Again, this latter type of gift has become less common since the chiefs became salaried politicians. Gifts are also given in propitiation of spirits in times of misfortune (Parsons 1964).

Although rural villages contain specialised skilled people they derive their main livelihood from farming. In small villages everyone is involved in farming. The more wives a man has, the more he can farm and the higher is his status. Often chiefs are given wives by important men from other clans or chiefdoms, to unify links between them. Many of these women are wives in name only and do not even live in the chief's town. It is general for Kono men not to take an excessive number of wives, which helps the Kono family unit to remain very close.

When population pressure increases, a young man may move away with his wife to found a new hamlet, often at some sacred site associated with the clan or family. In this way small single family settlements have spread throughout Kono during this century, thus dispersing the population and resulting in a settlement pattern of many tiny villages (Kongo) with only a small proportion of larger villages (Du) most of which were section and chiefdom centres. This can be seen as a response to

peaceful conditions in a sparsely populated land. During the early colonial period, while the south of Sierra Leone was becoming urbanised, the reverse occurred in Kono with a deconcentration of the population away from earlier war towns and defensive villages.

A further feature of the population of pre-diamond era Kono was the dominance of the Kono. In the 1931 census 91% of the population of the district was Kono, 5% Kissi, 2% Mandingo and 1½% Mende. In a survey of six rural villages in 1976 in southern Nimikoro Chiefdom, 90% of the village population was Kono, with the remainder being farm labourers, most of whom were Temne.[5]

This brief account of Kono and the Kono people indicates the background against which the immense changes of the diamond era took place. The next chapter gives an account of diamond mining and the resulting diamond rush in Sierra Leone and especially in Kono District.

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5. Surveys were mainly carried out in diamond mining towns, but a small survey of rural villages was added for interest and comparison. The sample area was chosen, after discounting the diamond mining area, by selecting random numbers from a random numbers table and applying the numbers to 1:50,000 scale map co-ordinates in theorder of a map reference. After selecting five rural areas, those with easy access to a road were discounted and the area closest to my residence finally selected. Six villages were surveyed as they were all relatively close and to some extent inter-related as farming settlements in the same valley.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SIERRA LEONE DIAMOND RUSH

Diamond Mining Pre-1950

The first diamond was found in 1930 by a government geologist who was prospecting along the valley of the river Gbobora in Kono District (Cartwright 1970). Geologists of the Consolidated African Selection Trust (C.A.S.T.) prospected further along the Gbobora in 1931 and 1932, concluding that the deposits were worth mining (S.L.S.T. 1965). C.A.S.T. was part of the Selection Trust Group and was controlled by the London based holding company Selection Trust Limited (Van der Laan 1965). C.A.S.T. began mining diamonds in Ghana in 1922, but after finding good deposits in Sierra Leone and Guinea, it decided to set up separate companies in these countries. The Sierra Leone Selection Trust (S.L.S.T.) was established in Sierra Leone. The company was wholly owned by C.A.S.T. in London, but was a sister company to the Ghana mine (Van der Laan 1965).

In 1933 S.L.S.T. obtained a 99 year lease over the whole country and small scale mining began (Cartwright 1970). The agreement with the government was that 27% of profits should be paid in tax, 70% of profits was controlled and claimed by C.A.S.T. in London and the remainder was ploughed back into the S.L.S.T. mine (Parsons 1964). The amount of tax was later raised to 45% income tax and a progressive Diamond Industry Profit Tax, which had an upper limit of 60% in all (Van der Laan 1965). This latter form of taxation was not introduced until 1952.

The original agreement was made directly between the colonial government and S.L.S.T. without the Paramount Chiefs of the affected

chiefdoms being consulted. Thus the company began by losing the support and goodwill, especially in Kono, of the chiefs (Minikin 1971).

S.L.S.T. aimed to mine systematically all the diamond deposits in Sierra Leone. They began in Kono, where the richest deposits were concentrated, and after exhausting the diamonds there, planned to move on down the River Sewa, mining the alluvial gravels that had been transported into the south of the country. The rich deposits at Tongo Field in Lower Bambara chiefdom were not discovered until 1953. A permanent mining settlement was not envisaged. S.L.S.T. built camps which instead of being concentrated at one central site, were scattered in the main diamond reserve of central Kono. As camps the buildings were not intended to be part of permanent settlements. The houses were constructed in barrack-like grid patterns often consisting of long buildings in which two rooms would be allotted to each worker and his immediate family. In comparison to modern houses in Kono, the camp houses are very small, although the housing at Yengema is generally of better quality and more spacious, for all classes of company workers.

During the early mining period of S.L.S.T. gold mining was also taking place in Sierra Leone to the west of Kono. Until 1944 the government had tried to encourage European companies to work the gold deposits. After 1944 mining for gold ceased to be lucrative and company operations ended. The main company involved was M.A.R.O.C., which extracted 42% of gold production. Other European trading companies mined 14% of the gold produced;

but private Lebanese licensed miners took 34% of gold production. M.A.R.O.C.'s experience in gold mining was to have to rush both prospecting and mining in an attempt to avoid competition. S.L.S.T. intended to avoid this situation by a strict monopoly control and by the exclusion of all outsiders (Van der Laan 1975). Until 1945 they achieved this by virtually isolating Kono from the rest of the country.

S.L.S.T. became an enclave in the middle of Kono. The company recruited most of its workers from outside Kono, mainly bringing in Mende and Creole people. They also imported food, especially rice, from outside the district. The camps were usually separate from any Kono settlement and although the company built roads, they were to link the camps and mining areas and did not serve Kono settlements or go outside the districts. The one road leading south from Sefadu to Segbewema and the railway, was quite sufficient for the export of a product as small and valuable as diamonds. The Company employed between 2,000 and 2,500 workers, who with their dependants probably formed a community of 12,000 people, more than 10% of the population of Kono, and most of these people being non-Kono. In 1935 S.L.S.T. paid the chiefs of Nimikoro, Tankoro and Gbense £50 each to stop any more strangers from settling in their chiefdoms (Minikin 1971).[1]

Consequently the diamond mine could be seen to be taking wealth from the Kono's land without providing jobs for the Kono people, without buying food from the farmers and yet dictating

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1. This only affected strangers who were not S.L.S.T. workers.

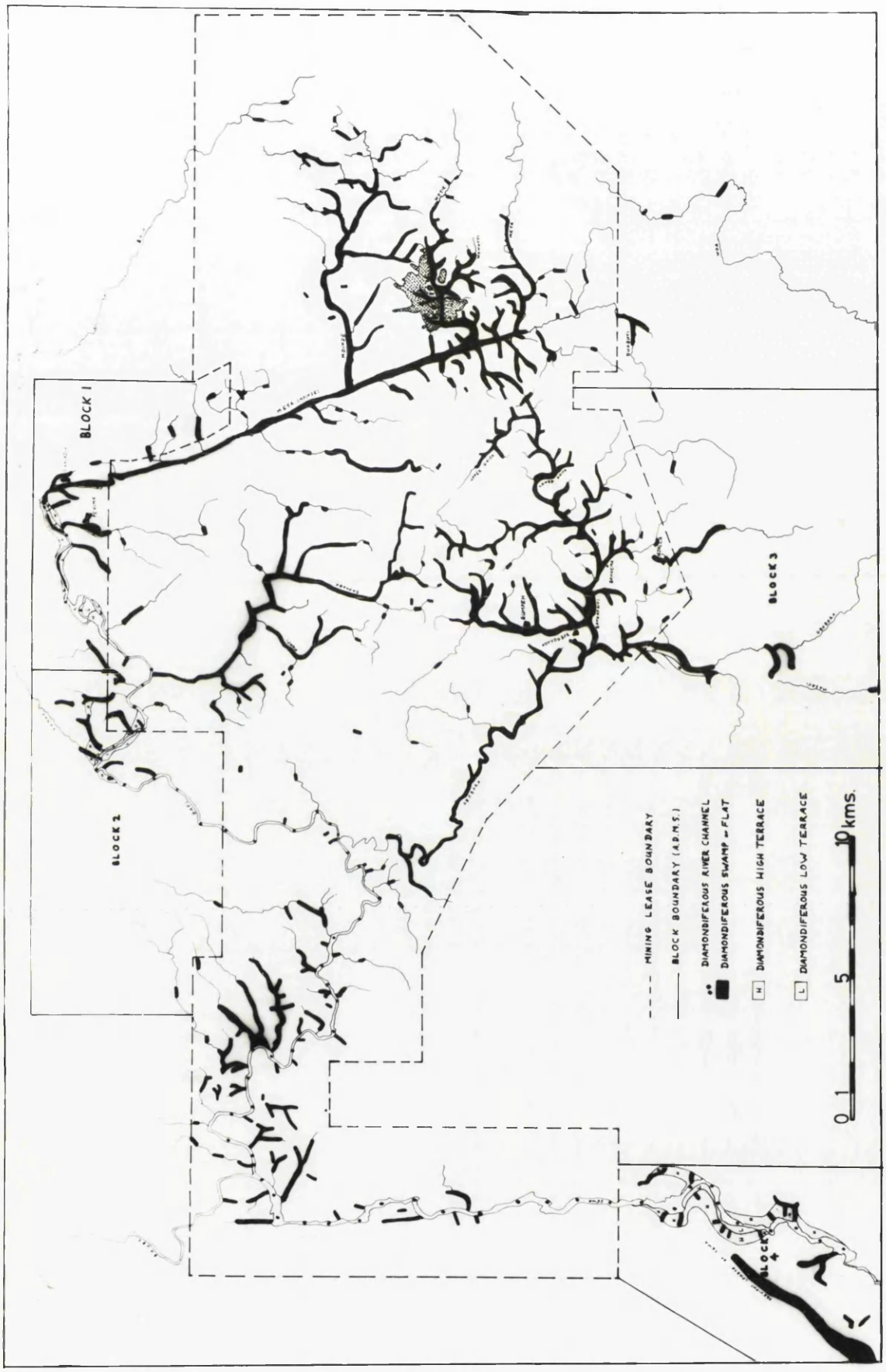

Figure 5. Diamondiferous deposits in central Kono: Sierra Leone Geological Survey

who may enter the area. S.L.S.T. paid a surface rent to the main mining chiefdoms in Kono, but this amounted only to a few hundred pounds a year. During this same period the company did not bother to give money or materials for development in Kono. The Government also ignored the area, allowing it to stagnate in isolation. As a result the Company lost the goodwill and support of the Kono people. This attitude proved crucial once illicit diamond mining began.

Production of diamonds by S.L.S.T. was 749 carats in 1932, reached 1,046,187 in 1942, and approximately the same amount in 1943, but after that averaging 400 to 500,000 carats a year (Parsons 1964). Before 1950 S.L.S.T. did not publish production values or profits. In 1945 the world's largest alluvial diamond, weighing 770 carats, was found near Tumbodu in Kono. News of such wealth spread despite the Company's secrecy and the isolated remoteness of Kono.

Increasingly after 1945, control of the diamond deposits became intertwined with the movement for political control and independence. S.L.S.T. has also been associated with the colonial regime, such that the ensuing diamond rush became a political struggle between the African masses and a colonial company despite the underlying anarchy and straightforward profit motive of the African diamond diggers.

The Occurrence of Illicit Diamond Mining

As S.L.S.T. had a mining lease that covered the whole country an individual who mined diamonds on his own initiative was doing so illegally. The only way for such an illicit miner to dispose

of his finds was to sell them to a trader who was willing to smuggle the diamonds out of the country. Generally traders were in a good position to indulge in illicit diamond buying (I.D.B.) because they had some capital and often moved about to the larger towns, knowing trade routes and markets. A market for illicitly mined diamonds was found in Monrovia. Other routes out of the country were undoubtedly used in the earlier instances of illicit diamond mining (I.D.M.) but the Monrovian market dominated by the early 1950's.

During the 1930's S.L.S.T. rewarded any local person in Kono with a few shillings for bringing to the company or the District Office any diamonds that were discovered accidentally. Most people at that time had no idea of the value of the diamonds, including S.L.S.T. workers, but the offer of a reward, however small, encouraged some people to go searching for diamonds (Interviews in Jaiama Nimikoro 1975/6). The writer, Graham Greene, mentioned smuggling of diamonds into Guinea during the Second World War in his novel 'The Heart of the Matter'.

The Reverend Paul Dunbar, a Kono teacher, went into the Evangelical United Brethren (E.U.B.) Church, was ordained as a pastor in the early 1940's and was sent to run the mission in the village of Koidu in Gbense Chiefdom. Dunbar was related to the Paramount Chief of Gbense Chiefdom, Kaimachende, whose chiefdom town, Yaradu, was situated several miles to the north. Koidu was on the only motor road which led up to the District Office at Sefadu, a couple of miles to the north. South of the diamondiferous Woyie stream, in Tankoro chiefdom S.L.S.T. had built its Sembehun

camp to house a large workforce of diamond miners and a gravel washing plant had been built beside the stream. On the ridge directly above the washing plant was the E.U.B. dispensary, while half a mile to the west, by the road, was the E.U.B. church and school. A Lebanese trader, Koussa, had come to the village in 1936, building his house and shop close to the site of the E.U.B. mission. As modern developments and cash were clearly coming into this village P.C. Kaimachende built a house for himself on the ridge above the Woyie stream, between the church and the dispensary. Pastor Dunbar arranged evening classes for S.L.S.T. workers and labourers, teaching them literacy at the mission. He also encouraged them to bring diamonds to him, which he sold to Koussa. This was discovered by the S.L.S.T. Diamond Protection Force (D.P.F.) but when they attempted to expel Dunbar from Kono, Kaimachende intervened and the struggle became political.

Both Kaimachende and Dunbar were involved in the Paramount Chiefs' Conference which took place in Koidu village in 1948, and which later developed into the District Council and led to the Protectorate Assembly and Legislative Council. Dunbar was nominated by the Chiefs, mainly with the backing of Kaimachende, and represented Kono as a member of the Legislative Council, where he was able to attack the mining company's policy and the terms of its lease and royalties (Dunbar 1976).

Thus the early occurrences of illicit diamond mining around Koidu, which had the richest deposits and is the source area of the kimberlite, involved Kono who were opposed to S.L.S.T.'s control and who were to become influential politicians, as well as the earliest Lebanese trader, and S.L.S.T. workers who were willing to 'steal' diamonds as they mined them.

The company ceased to have absolute control over the lease and between 1952 and 1954 a gradual increase took place in illicit diamond mining, followed by the frenetic diamond rush of 1954 to 1956. There were a number of factors that led to the diamond rush. The general lack of goodwill among the Kono people towards S.L.S.T., has already been mentioned. Along with S.L.S.T. the government was also keen to suppress illicit mining, but with the rising feeling of anti-colonialism and the drive towards independence, respect for the government was considerably lessened. For the Kono politicians of the time it was easy to point to the lack of development and the lack of government involvement in Kono, while at the same time S.L.S.T. had taken millions of pounds worth of diamonds from the land. Since the beginning of the diamond rush up to the present time, the illicit miners have believed and claimed that they as Africans are rightly taking what is theirs. The Kono have believed this most strongly, but most non-Kono have claimed the same right in justification of their actions. This attitude among illicit diamond miners has persisted even since control of S.L.S.T. was taken by the Sierra Leone government in 1970.

Rumours of the wealth of the diamond fields spread rapidly, as the Sierra Leone diamonds comprise a very high proportion of gemstones. Some of the diamonds found in Kono were exceptionally large and many people became literally rich overnight. Mining the diamonds was very easy, as the diamondiferous gravel only lay ten to twenty five feet below the surface and could be dug out, sorted and washed using only a bucket, spade and sieve (often made of mosquito netting, or an aluminium water bowl with nail holes knocked through the bottom).

Another important factor in the diamond rush was the return of the ex-servicemen after the Second World War. About 20,000 men had been recruited or conscripted. They returned, having been exposed to a more western lifestyle, a money economy and to the discipline and organisation of the army. The ex-servicemen became urbanised and were easily attracted to the cash earnings of the diamond fields. The diamond fields also offered a break from the traditional way of life, not only for the ex-servicemen, but for other dissatisfied young men (Mills 1975) (Joseph 1972).

Other Africans, and especially the Lebanese, had had some experience in gold mining, where they had learned alluvial mining methods in competition with European companies and had been moderately successful. The Lebanese had gained a lot of confidence from the experience, and were willing to invest their capital in illicit diamond buying, in sponsoring illicit mining operations and in smuggling (Van der Laan 1975).

Agricultural production had been high during the 1940's when the country managed to feed itself, but the war had disrupted international trade, cutting off exports of cash crops, such as oil palm kernels, cocoa and coffee (Shanu-Wilson 1966). Mining provided an alternative means of earning cash. Then in the early 1950's the lack of opportunities in farming were compounded by poor harvests (Minikin 1971).

Before 1952 there was no police or army presence in Kono, and there were few roads for the police to operate from when they were based at Motema from 1952 onwards. Kono was still remote from the centre of government, and its borders, both internal and inter-

national, could not adequately be patrolled. At the same time there had also been a decline in the authority of the chiefs, so that they were virtually powerless to control the vast influx of strangers, both into Kono and into the other diamond areas of the south.

The factors which first led to the diamond rush, continued to be important for the following twenty five years. Migration to the diamond fields continues to take place, but whereas at first the area could only offer legendary riches, it now offers an urban lifestyle with facilities and services not offered in most other areas of Sierra Leone.

Methods of Diamond Mining

The extraction of gravel and of diamonds by S.L.S.T. and later N.D.M.C.[2] is regulated by the yearly quota which specifies the volume of carats to be produced. The amount of gravel that has to be extracted to achieve the production quota is determined by the thickness of the overburden (soil and gravel that lie above the diamondiferous deposits), and the richness of the gravel, while distance from the washing plant influences the amount of gravel that can be processed.

The diamondiferous gravel is processed in two stages; firstly in the washing plant which sorts and concentrates the gravel

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2. In 1970 the Sierra Leone government negotiated with the Sierra Leone Selection Trust and bought 51% of the company's shares, to obtain a controlling interest. The company in Sierra Leone was renamed the National Diamond Mining Company, N.D.M.C., and sometimes refered to as DIMINCO. When making reference to the company before 1970 the name S.L.S.T. is used, while after 1970 the name N.D.M.C. is used.

roughly, and then in the Separator House where the diamonds are extracted. At the time of the diamond rush there were eight washing plants in operation. Since that time more plants have been built while older ones in mined out areas have ceased to operate. The washing plants have been built as close as possible to the main diamond deposits in order to reduce transport costs. The Separator House is at Yengema.[3] Maintenance of mining equipment and machinery takes place at Yengema, where there are also the various company offices and services: the hospital, stores, electric generator, entertainments, housing and the airport.

The organisation of mining by S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. is as follows. When a new deposit is selected for mining, permission is obtained from the Chiefdom Authorities and compensation agreed upon.[4] Access roads are constructed to the area and the land is drained, or any stream or river is dammed and diverted. The overburden is removed by bulldozer and dragline and the diamondiferous gravel is then dug out by dragline or occasionally by hand. The gravel is transported by lorry to the nearest washing plant. The method of mining is open-cast strip mining. If illicit miners encroach upon the deposits and dig random pits, the machines are not able to mine effeciently, and the mining of the area may have to be abandoned entirely.

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3. The Tongo Field lease duplicates the facilities at Yengema, in lesser quantities and size. Reference here will mainly be made to Kono as that is the area of study, but general observations and figures of mining will include all diamond mines both inside and outside Kono.

4. Since the 1955 agreement.

The washing plant removes large stones, and mud and vegetable matter and particles under one millimetre. The gravel is also sorted roughly into sizes. The resulting gravel concentrate is transported to the Separator House, where separation of diamonds from gravel takes place on a grease belt. The belt is agitated, causing the gravel to be thrown off, while the diamonds stick to the grease. After this the diamonds are hand picked and sorted (Van der Laan 1965).

S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. only mines diamonds. The company sells them through trading companies with licences to buy diamonds in Freetown. The world supply of rough diamonds, even including gemstones from Russia after 1960, is controlled by the Central Selling Organisation (C.S.O.) of the De Beers Company. This organisation prepares diamonds for sale and sells them through its own trading companies to diamond cutters on its supply list. Although diamonds are mined by many different mining companies and cut and polished by hundreds of different diamond cutters, the C.S.O. controls 80% at least of the supply of diamonds between these two sectors. The C.S.O. deals with industrial diamonds, but is mainly interested in gemstones. The aim of the organisation is to maintain a stable price of gems by regulating the supply and demand either by stockpiling diamonds, or by releasing stocks.

The domination of the world diamond market by the De Beers C.S.O. is a monopoly rather than a cartell, but the control has resulted in a very stable, if high, price for diamond gems. High prices are passed on to consumers, for whom it is a luxury item. As prices rise steadily, the profits may be passed back to the

producers, by offering them higher prices for their stones.

The other 20% of diamond gem production forms the outside market. If the quantity outside C.S.O. control rises above 20% it threatens the price stability and monopoly of the C.S.O. The outside supply consists of new deposits and illicit diamonds. In the case of illicit diamond mining and smuggling, the C.S.O. frequently stepped in to advise or assist a government in combating the problem. However, the C.S.O. was very conservative in the operation of its buyers' list. When new diamond cutting centres expanded in New York and Israel after the Second World War, the cutters found themselves unable to obtain the supplies they wanted from the C.S.O. So, instead, some of these cutters set up their own buying offices in Monrovia to take advantage of the gems that were being smuggled out of Sierra Leone. The problem was compounded by the fact that the West had placed an embargo on the export of industrial diamonds to the Iron Curtain countries, because of their military importancein the manufacture of weapons. As both types of diamond were being smuggled out of Sierra Leone to be sold to the highest bidder, the diamond rush had serious consequences far beyond the internal upheavals taking place in Sierra Leone (Van der Laan 1965). The C.S.O. finding its monopoly price control threatened, set up an International Diamond Security Organisation to break up the smuggling network (Felming 1957). But all attempts to stop the diamond rush proved futile, because of the numbers of people involved and their determination and success.

The illicit diamond diggers and dealers of the early diamond rush came great distances, seldom knowing anything about alluvial

Plate 1. Alluvial Diamond Mining at Njalla. The white post on the right marks the NDMC lease.

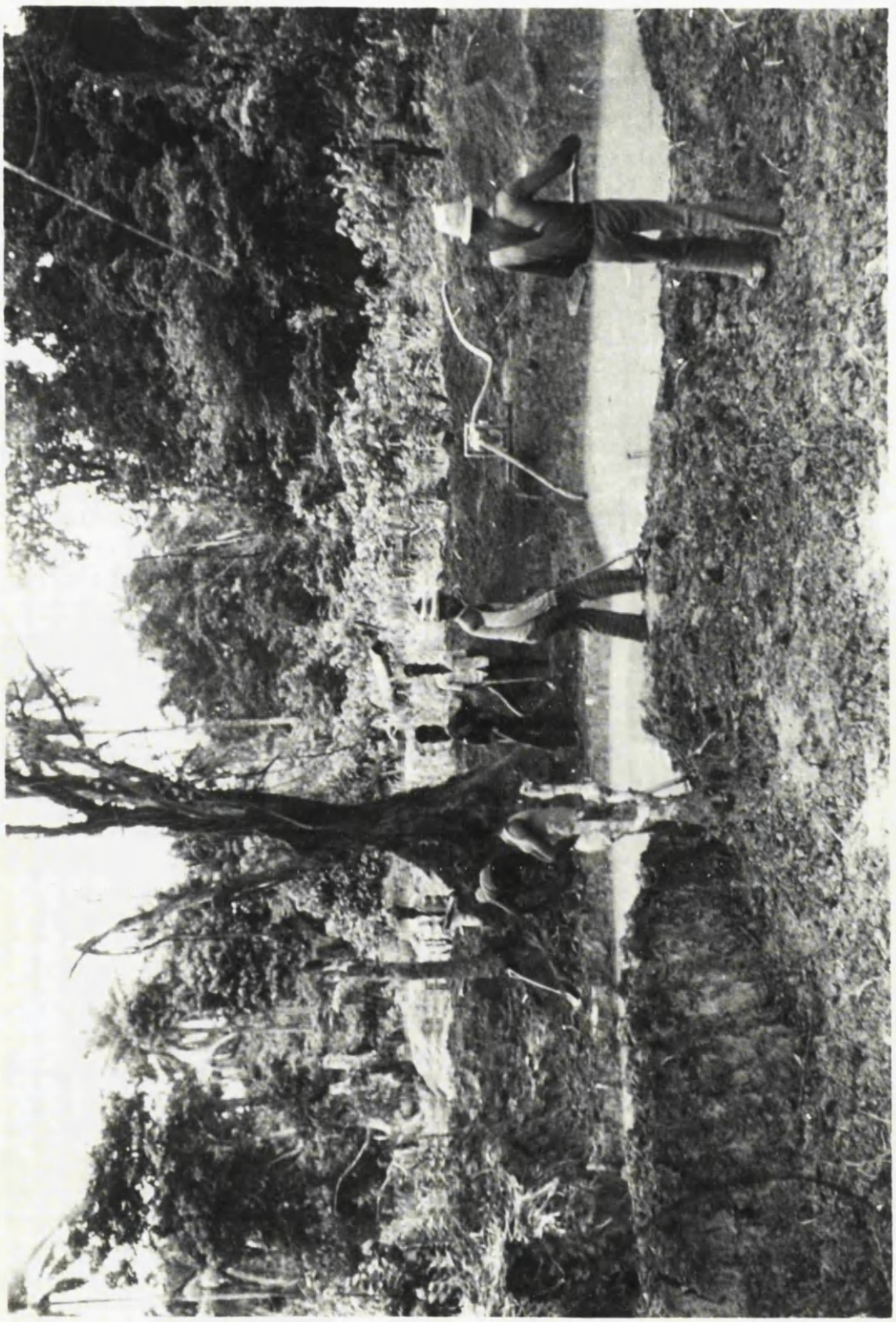

Plate 2. Alluvial Diamond Miining at Njalla. The overburden is being removed and tthe pits are pumped dry by motor pump.

Plate 3. Alluvial Diamond Mining at Njalla. The overburden having been removed, the diamondiferous gravel is dug out and sifted.

Plate 4. Alluvial Diamond Mining at Njalla. After washing the gravel, diamonds are picked out of the seive by Mr. Sie, the entrepreneur.

diamond mining or diamond valuing. The vast majority of people were uneducated, but within four years they had mastered the methods, and although never as efficient as S.L.S.T., diamond recovery in some areas was extremely high. For the diggers much of the mining had to be seasonal, especially in the valleys of the large rivers, such as the Sewa and Bafi. The main months for diamond digging are October to May. When the river volume decreases, gravels alongside the river can be mined, or sections of the river can be dammed or diverted to enable extraction of gravels beneath the water.

Initially the diamond diggers favoured the pit method of mining, and this method has continued to dominate. The overburden was removed and a pit dug into the diamondiferous gravel. The deeper the diggers went the more likely that their pit would become flooded. Thus this method was wasteful in that deeper deposits sometimes were not touched, while other deposits were not mined around the pit. The diggers remove the gravel with a bucket and spade, washing it and jigging it with the aid of a sieve and a perforated bowl. The jigging of the sieve concentrates the diamonds to the bottom and centre of the sieve because of their high specific gravity. Then the sieve is upturned and the diamonds picked out by hand. Prospecting did not take place, but if a pit proved successful the diggers excavated another one next to it. When S.L.S.T. prospected in a new area illicit miners would usually move in and excavate the deposits.

Initially the diggers came in small groups, some of them agricultural labouring groups. It is common for young men to spend a few years working for farmers, to earn some cash in order

to pay for a marriage, build a house and establish a farm. Both in Temne (Banton 1957) and Mende (Little 1951) country small groups of young men travelled about working as labourers for cash. Diamond mining was well suited to such a group, and the early organisation of diggers was along such lines. Later larger gangs were organised to mine areas more efficiently, but they still usually comprise small groups who work together and often share their earnings.

When the diggers were legalised in 1956, they were organised into the tributor system. This system had been very successful during the gold mining era (Van der Laan 1975). A Sierra Leonean was allowed to buy a diamond licence and employ up to twenty men as tributors. The earnings from mining were shared between all the tributors acting as an incentive to honesty and hard work. Sometimes a licensee paid the tributors a fixed wage, irrespective of production and sometimes a bonus would be paid. The licensee was responsible for feeding, accommodating and protecting his tributors. Many non-Sierra Leoneans took out licences in someone else's name, or sometimes one wealthy entrepreneur organised a number of licensees, usually paying their licence fees for them, in order to build up a large work force. A great number of workers allowed protection from rival gangs, or in the case of illicit miners, against the S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. security force. It also enabled strip mining to take place as well as the use of hand operated jigging machines and petrol pumps to drain the pits thus enabling deeper mining (Van der Laan 1965).

The Lebanese and other rich non-Sierra Leoneans who act as diamond buyers, both illicitly and licensed, often invest in part-

icular digging operations to encourage the diggers to give them first option of buying the stones. Sometimes the dealer may actually pay for the licence, feed the workers and supply spades, buckets, sieves and pumps. Illicit operations on the company lease, both before the legalising of alluvial digging and afterwards, are often run in the same way, involving many hundreds of workers, thousands of leones in investment, and sometimes bribery of the company officials who might otherwise stop them. There is a considerable traffic in re-routed N.D.M.C. trucks which, instead of delivering gravel to the washing plant, move it off the lease to a licensed plot where it can be sorted in peace and the gravel sold quite legally through thelicensees. Generally the larger the digger operations became the more efficient they were likely to be and the more difficult it became for the company to eject them.

The Diamond Rush

The S.L.S.T. lease in Kono at the start of the diamond rush, was a Diamond Protection Area. Non-Kono were prohibited from staying in the area for more than two days without a permit from the District Office. As the District Office was in the centre of the Diamond Protection Area, people had to enter without permits in order to obtain one. To counteract this there was a suggestion that the District Office be moved to Woama on the Segbwema road, but Kono politicians, especially Dunbar, opposed this and the office remained at Sefadu. The S.L.S.T. security police, the Diamond Protection Force, controlled the one road entry into central Kono. But the Guineans and northerners who formed the bulk of the diggers did not come from that direction, but entered by the numerous tracks which could not be policed. As many non-Konos

had been resident in Kono for many years, people who had been present since before 1950 were exempt from any permit restrictions. Thus, long established Fula and Mandingo traders who legally resided in central Kono, were able to accommodate relatives from Guinea, Mali and Gambia and could move freely in and out of central Kono, facilitating smuggling. In 1952 the Police Force was established at Motema, a settlement between Koidu and Yengema. The Diamond Protection Force rapidly lost control between 1952 and 1954 (Dunbar 1976). During this period illicit mining was mainly occurring in Kono. Smuggling increased and spectacular arrests were made in Freetown and Bathurst (Banjul) (Freetown Daily Mail 19.3.53.).

After 1954 the diamond rush escalated and spread down the river Sewa into Bo and Kenema Districts. Many ex-S.L.S.T. workers turned to the higher profits of illicit mining and were probably mainly Mende and Kono. Kono men also travelled to the central Kono diamond fields from the peripheral chiefdoms, while some young women broke with the traditional way of life and went to seek wealth in the diamond fields. Many Temne and Mandingo who were attracted to the diamond fields were probably ex-gold miners, in which case a large proportion of the Mandingo would have been Guineans (Van der Laan 1975). Fula and Kissi joined the diamond rush, many of whom would also have been Guineans. From further afield came the Wolof, Serahuli and Mandingo from Gambia (Marakas) and Bambara and Fula from Mali and Senegal. The Marakas, traders from Gambia, Mali, Senegal and Guinea, especially went into illicit diamond buying and smuggling. In particular the Mandingo are named as a group deeply involved in smuggling (Fleming 1957). Lebanese traders in the railway towns

began diamond buying and smuggling, using the contacts and markets that they knew as traders. But they were quickly identified as smugglers and possibly made scapegoats by the police, being liable to arbitrary deportation and harrassment if suspected of smuggling. The Lebanese continued to trade in diamonds and to smuggle, but less directly, seldom carrying diamonds in person (Van der Laan 1975).

At first smuggled diamonds took a complex route to the cutting centres, via the Lebanon, where imports of diamonds from Sierra Leone could be declared legally and were itemised in the balance of payments. It seems likely that diamonds were then smuggled from Lebanon to the new cutting industry in Israel (Lewis 1954) which also obtained supplies through New York.

By 1954 the Monrovian market was established in neighbouring Liberia, where European diamond buyers set up office. The smuggling routes then went east from Kono into Guinea and southwards to Monrovia, or through Kenema, then eastwards into Liberia. I.D.M. and smuggling from the S.L.S.T. lease reached three times the value of the production of the mine. In 1955 the British Government invested £1 million to buy smuggled diamonds in Liberia and resold them legally to the Diamond Corporation (Fleming 1957). Liberia claimed to have its own diamond mines and insisted that its production was quite legitimate (Fleming 1957). U.S. dollars were legal tender in Liberia, making deals easier.

Estimates of smuggling were made by the Sierra Leone government and were as follows:

1955: £12 millions
1956: £14.5 millions
1957: £ 9.5 millions
1958: £11 millions

1959: £8.5 to 9 millions

1960: £4 millions (Van der Laan 1965)[5]

After 1959 smuggling was controlled and reduced. Although illicit mining has continued throughout the twenty years since licensed mining was introduced, smuggling has declined to a less significant amount.

Other groups of Africans involved in the diamond rush worked as diggers and later as tributors. They sold their diamonds to the Lebanese, Maraka and Mandingo dealers who smuggled them out of Sierra Leone and later acted as middlemen, selling the diamonds to the Diamond Corporation. In 1954 P.C. Koker estimated that there were 30,000 diamond diggers at work (Van der Laan 1965). In 1956 a stranger drive took place when all non-Sierra Leonean strangers were given an ultimatum to leave the diamond areas. Their settlements were destroyed, equipment seized and a check made of their departure. Between 5 and 6,000 buildings with a total of 20,000 rooms were destroyed, although the sites were immediately re-occupied (Minikin 1971). Approximately 45,000 African strangers were estimated to have left Sierra Leone in 1956 (Colonial Office 1956).

When licences were issued in 1956, 1,500 were bought, which, allowing for 20 tributors per licence, gave employment for 30,000

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5. Compare these figures with P. K. Mitchell and K. Swindell, 1965.

Crude Estimates of diamond smuggling in million pounds

1952:	£2 m.	1955:	£8 m.	1958:	£15 m.	1961:	£1 m.
1953:	£2 m.	1956:	£10 m.	1959:	£15 m.	1962:	£4 m.
1954:	£3 m.	1957:	£15 m.	1960:	very low	1963:	£4 m.
						1964:	£1 m.

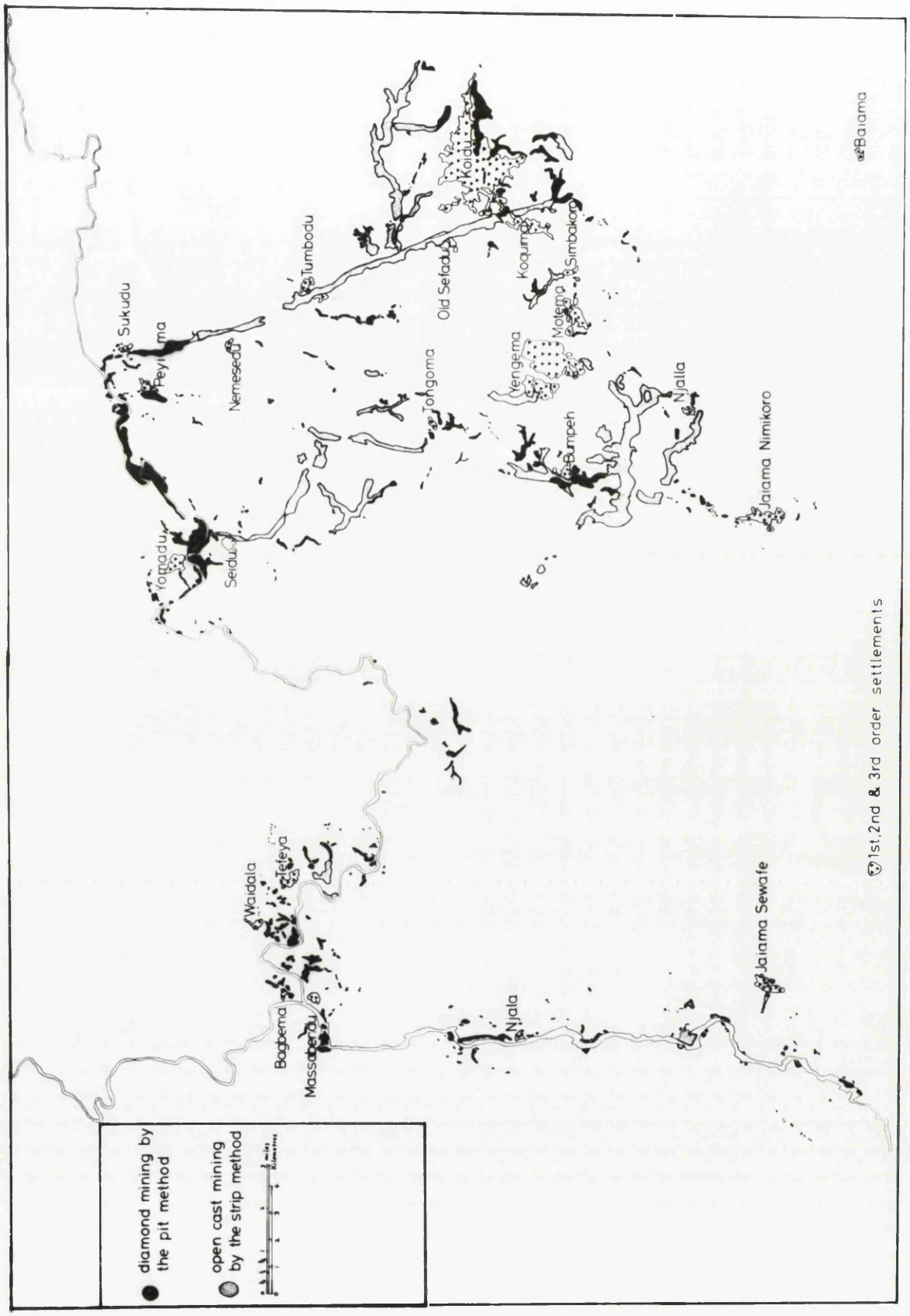

Figure 6. Diamond Mining in central Kono

diggers, the number estimated by Chief Koker in 1954. Most of the foreign strangers came between 1954 and 1956, so that there may have been up to 75,000 diamond miners, but at least 50,000 (Van der Laan 1965). Many of these strangers undoubtedly returned in the following years and the numbers of diamond miners present in 1969 far exceeded those present at the height of the 1950's diamond rush.

However, in 1956 the sheer numbers and distribution of illicit miners made suppression of the diamond rush impossible. The whole of the Sewa valley was totally under the control of African diggers and S.L.S.T. could no longer do anything to change the situation.

Initial Effects of the Diamond Rush

Apart from smuggling and illicit mining of diamonds, with the resulting loss of revenue to the government, there were many secondary effects of the diamond rush, giving just as much cause for concern. As thousands of people made their way to the diamond fields leaving their jobs and farms, the supply of food declined while the market demand increased rapidly. Inflation occurred, more food supplies had to be imported, but still the prices remained high because the diamond miners had plenty of money to spend. Rents in the mining areas also rose to very high levels. This caused much hardship and dissatisfaction among the non-mining population. During the 1954 wet season after the first full scale season of the diamond rush, the diamond diggers returned home with their new found wealth, and often accompanying it, an arrogance and contempt towards the traditional society which they had left. Even those diggers who had found

nothing had still experienced the freedom from traditional restraints and their attitudes had changed (Cartwright 1970). For many of these people it was their first experience of life outside the village and represented a form of urbanisation, even though the settlements of the diamond fields could hardly at that time be called towns.

The immediate effect of inflation was a strike call in Freetown in February 1955 with the unions demanding higher wages. This resulted in riots, during which 18 people were killed. In November disturbances spread to the Northern Province and later to the Southern Province, continuing into 1956 (Van der Laan 1965).

Overcrowding and bad housing, especially in Kono, created the danger of a widespread epidemic, (Akinwunmi 1967). A smallpox epidemic was concealed in 1956, during which 100,000 vaccinations were administered. Towns were without water supplies, apart from swamps, had no latrines or burial ground and were often surrounded by mounds of rubbish, and excrement infested with flies (Parsons 1964). Smallpox cases had also been reported in Freetown, Bo, Pujehun, Kambia and Port Loko (Van der Laan 1965). With the authority of the chiefs seriously weakened, or with mining towns being new boom settlements without any chief, there was little that could be done to improve the poor living conditions.

The diamond rush mainly attracted young men, while the excessive dominance in the population of rich young men attracted some young women, especially Kono women, who were near enough to the diamond rush to be able to break away. According to diamond diggers there were a few women who came to work as miners, but by

all accounts they were rougher, tougher and bigger than most men, and were usually Temne. As women were in such demand it was easier for them to spend the diggers' money, and thus prostitution was added to the problems of the diamond fields, especially in Kono. Virtually unknown in Kono before the diamond rush, prostitution upset both the missionaries and Kono men, who joined the government and politicians in blaming all evils on the strangers (Freetown Daily Mail 14.1.55). Although ministers of the E.U.B. Church were very concerned about diamond trafficking "sapping the moral and social life of our people" (Matturi 1971) they were not above indulging in digging operations themselves as entrepreneurs or partners. Similarly although the Paramount Chiefs in mining areas were most concerned about their loss of authority (Lewis 1956) they were heavily involved in diamond mining, out for all they could get, and usually emerged very rich and in control of local level diamond mining (Rosen 1974).

The crime and lawlessness of the early diamond rush has now become legendary, although there was probably more anarchy than lawlessness. Murders and gang fights that took place quickly hit the headlines (Freetown Daily Mail 21.5.55.),[6] but as these attracted attention and police interference the diggers preferred to work in peace, using violence as a last resort, usually to defend themselves against the Diamond Protection Force. Weapons employed by illicit protection squads were usually sticks and clubs, but

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6. A diamond buyer was murdered while visiting the diggings. P.C. Koker gave the example of 45 murder cases, including a man who was disembowelled for a diamond he had swallowed.

later knives and guns also came into occasional use. Illicit miners stole crops from farmers' fields (Minikin 1971) and very large gangs set up their own 'government' with a protection force and issued licences for diggers who wanted to mine illicitly on the S.L.S.T. lease. Such organised groups numbered many hundreds, in open defiance of the Paramount Chief, S.L.S.T. and the police (Van der Laan 1965) (Fleming 1957).[7] However, the organisation of illicit gangs increased and improved even more after 1956.

In Kono the main areas of illicit mining during the initial diamond rush, were along the Bafi river, the towns of Bagbema, Tefeya, Yomandu, Peyima and Sukudu, along the Moinde-Meya valley, Tumbodu, Nemesedu and Old Sefadu and the area from the Meya valley to the Bandafayi deposits, including Koidu and its surrounding villages, and Koquima, Simbakoro, Njalla and Bumpeh. Illicit mining occurred on virtually all deposits, but these areas developed the earliest boom towns.

Most descriptions of the boom settlements condemn them as having very poor dwellings, although most huts seem to have been more substantial than the traditional village hut. Buildings were usually of mud and wattle with three or four rooms on average, having shutter windows and doors, and to save time in construction, where time was more valuable than money, roofs were of corrugated iron, (pan). A number of houses built in the early 1950's had concrete floors, timber frames and false ceilings. The quality of the housing seems to have been less of a problem than

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7. The 1955 disturbances included a riot at Yengema when a large force of illicit diggers laid seige to the S.L.S.T. compound in an attempt to smash up their equipment. S.L.S.T. defended themselves with guns and tear gas.

the excessive numbers of people who lived in them and the generally insanitary surroundings. Illicit settlements were either densely crowded, close to the low lying diamond swamps, or they consisted of many isolated huts and hamlets scattered about the deposits. Sometimes a settlement grew up beside an existing Kono village, or sometimes it grew as a linear settlement along a track or road, or beside a diamondiferous stream.

Facilities and services in these places were virtually non-existent while entertainment seems to have consisted of excessive drinking, extended parties and pursuit of the few available women. Little money was invested in building in the diamond settlements at that time. After the stranger drive of 1956, the police and health department officers destroyed the buildings which had been occupied by African strangers. A few successful African strangers had built substantial dwellings in such places as Koidu, leaving them in safe keeping when they departed in 1956, and returning to them in 1957.

Legalising of the Diamond Rush

A political consequence of the diamond rush was the development of a conflict between the colonial administration plus the foreign mining company and the new African politicians working towards independence and control of resources. The politicians identified with the aspirations of the African diggers and while it was politically expedient some of them even supported the strangers. Dunbar was initially anti-stranger, although he later came round to supporting a permit system. In 1952 a new tax rate was placed on S.L.S.T. production taking up to 60% of S.L.S.T.

profits. Dunbar was involved in the negotiations as representative of Kono chiefs. Paramount Chief Koker, from the south, where S.L.S.T. was not entrenched, was already arguing, in 1954, in favour of a licensed scheme of diamond mining in which Africans could participate.

The Freetown and Provincial riots of 1955 caused the colonial administration in Sierra Leone, and the British Government, great concern. These incidents added to their concern over the lawlessness, poor health conditions and mass illicit mining in the diamond fields, as well as the threat the smuggling posed to the stability of world diamond prices. By 1955 most people realised that suppression of the diamond rush was impossible, and that the only way to tackle it was to legalise it. Talks with S.L.S.T. began early in 1955, breaking down during the Freetown riots, and resuming in April 1955.

Agreement was reached with S.L.S.T., that the company should relinquish the diamondiferous deposits outside Kono, except for Lower Bambara chiefdom (Tongo field) which it retained with the six original mining leases in central Kono, for compensation of £1,570,000. The company was also allowed to select up to 200 square miles of additional land for mining. This latter concession was strongly opposed in Kono and the amount was reduced to 100 square miles of additional lease to be added to the 450 square miles over which S.L.S.T. now had exclusive rights. The company was allowed to prospect in the other diamond areas of Sierra Leone for deep deposits which lay more than 15 feet below the surface, and which consequently could not be mined by Africans if they only employed the pit method.

Thus the S.L.P.P.[8] dominated negotiators had given all of the Sewa valley in Mende country to the licensed diamond mining scheme, with only a few peripheral areas in Kono available for licensed mining. The rest of central Kono became firmly under S.L.S.T. control. Dunbar supported the 1955 agreement with S.L.S.T. (the company built him a large house in Kono for an insignificant cost - Minikin 1971) and in doing so lost the support of many Kono people and of almost all the strangers in Kono. The agreement did not satisfy the inhabitants of Kono who felt that they had been cheated and sold out. This led to the rise of the Kono Progressive Movement (K.P.M.), the first radical political party to be founded in Sierra Leone and based on the illicit diamond mining towns, under the leadership of T. S. Mbriwa (Cartwright 1970). Paramount Chief Kaimachende of Gbense chiefdom was a supporter of the S.L.P.P. and the main backer of Dunbar, but he maintained good relations with the strangers and diamond diggers in his chiefdom.

Licences under the Alluvial Diamond Mining Scheme (A.D.M.S.) were first issued in February 1956, although none were issued in Kono that year. The method of issuing licences was that the Ministry of Mines first declared a chiefdom to be part of the scheme. Officials of the ministry then travelled to the area, explained the scheme and issued licences to applicants for £9 a year. A surface rent of four shillings a week for the mining claim had to be paid to the Tribal Authorities of the chiefdom,

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8. Sierra Leone People's Party, a political party led by Sir Milton Margai, mainly deriving its support from the Provincial elite especially among the Mendes in the South.

on top of the licence fee. The fee was low in order to encourage all the illicit miners to register.

The Diamond Corporation (DICOR) was set up in Kenema to buy diamonds, but the response to their organisation was disappointing. The Monrovian buyers still paid much less tax than DICOR, their prices were higher, and as the diamonds were of very high quality smuggling continued to be worthwhile.[9] DICOR taxes were later reduced, police control over I.D.M. and smuggling was improved, DICOR's prices were raised and smuggling was brought down to a much lower, though still considerable, level after 1960 (Marriot 1971).

In order to mine under the A.D.M.S. a licensee had to seek permission to dig from the nearest village headman, the section Chief and the Paramount Chief. Apart from the usual rents, extra amounts usually had to be given to these chiefs (Rosen 1974). A mines Warden then sketched out the area of the licence claim and the licensee was allowed to begin digging with up to 20 tributors as labourers or partners. The licensee had to be Sierra Leonean and most of the working capital had to be Sierra Leonean. The scheme was introduced very hurriedly during 1956, using poor quality maps and inexperienced wardens.

At Gbambaiadu near the confluence of the Bafi and Bagbe rivers, licences were issued, alluvial mining began and rich deposits were found. S.L.S.T. then claimed that the area was on its lease. In fact Gbambaiadu was in the extra lease selected after the 1955 agreement, the final boundaries of the new lease having been agreed in only July 1956. The maps in use before the

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9. See Table earlier giving estimates of diamond smuggling before and after the establishment of the A.D.M.S. in 1956.

1:50,000 air photo coverage maps of the late 1950's were notoriously inaccurate, and a government Commission of Inquiry was held into the issuing of licences at Gbambaiadu (Sierra Leone Government 1957). However, the incident indicates how rapidly the A.D.M.S. was introduced and to the miners in Kono it proved that licensed mining of rich deposits in Kono would no longer be possible as the Commission found in favour of S.L.S.T., revoking the licences that had been issued, with compensation to licensees.

The only area that was not taken by S.L.S.T. in Kono was Peyima/Sukudu, where several thousand illicit diggers had built large settlements and were working the rich deposits at the confluence of the Moinde and Bafi rivers. Peyima was not on the original six leases, but when S.L.S.T. selected additional areas, it included Peyima and Sukudu. This embarrassed the government who realised the impossibility of ejecting several thousand entrenched, wealthy and armed illicit diggers. Thus S.L.S.T. was persuaded to choose land elsewhere, allowing licences to be issued at Peyima and Sukudu, and also Yomadu, although deposits near that town were less extensive (Van der Laan 1965).

The 1956 stranger drive then followed up the establishment of the A.D.M.S., although illicit mining continued unabated on the company lease. Violence increased as attempts were made to dislodge illicit miners, with attacks on police posts (Freetown Daily Mail 13.2.57.), on the Koidu washing plant and on S.L.S.T. security posts by large armed gangs, (Van der Laan 1965). As the illicit miners refused to leave, trouble continued in Kono until 1960. The political parties also intensified their differences

as the K.P.M. identified increasingly with the illicit miners, from whom it drew its support.

The 1955 agreement did allow one concession to Kono diggers in the contract mining scheme which would permit African miners to work marginally uneconomical or small deposits within the S.L.S.T. lease. The first sites were near Tumbodu and Tefeya, but although more sites were added in 1960 and 1961, this project offered employment to small numbers and did not satisfy the majority of illicit miners. Under the scheme diamonds were sold legally through S.L.S.T. and DICOR. More sites continued to be made available during the next 15 years and Kono settled down, to some extent, during the early 1960's.

The Second Diamond Rush and Decline

The peak of production under the Alluvial Diamond Mining Scheme was in July 1969 when in that month alone Le.4½ million worth of diamonds were sold to the Government Diamond Office (G.D.O.) (Freetown Daily Mail 6.9.69.). A year later purchases were still relatively high when the peak reached Le.3.4 millions of diamond sales in July 1970 (Unity 7.8.70.). After that production of diamonds steadily declined. There had been a decline in production early in the 1960's after the frenetic days of the diamond rush and legalisation of digging. The lowest production had been in 1967, when the activities of the National Reformation Council (N.R.C. the military government which ruled after the 1967 coup) in raising duties on diamonds and directly attacking illicit diggers, might have caused a large increase in smuggling. In the same year iron ore exports were also low, but in the previous year diamonds only formed 58% of Sierra Leone's exports by value. In

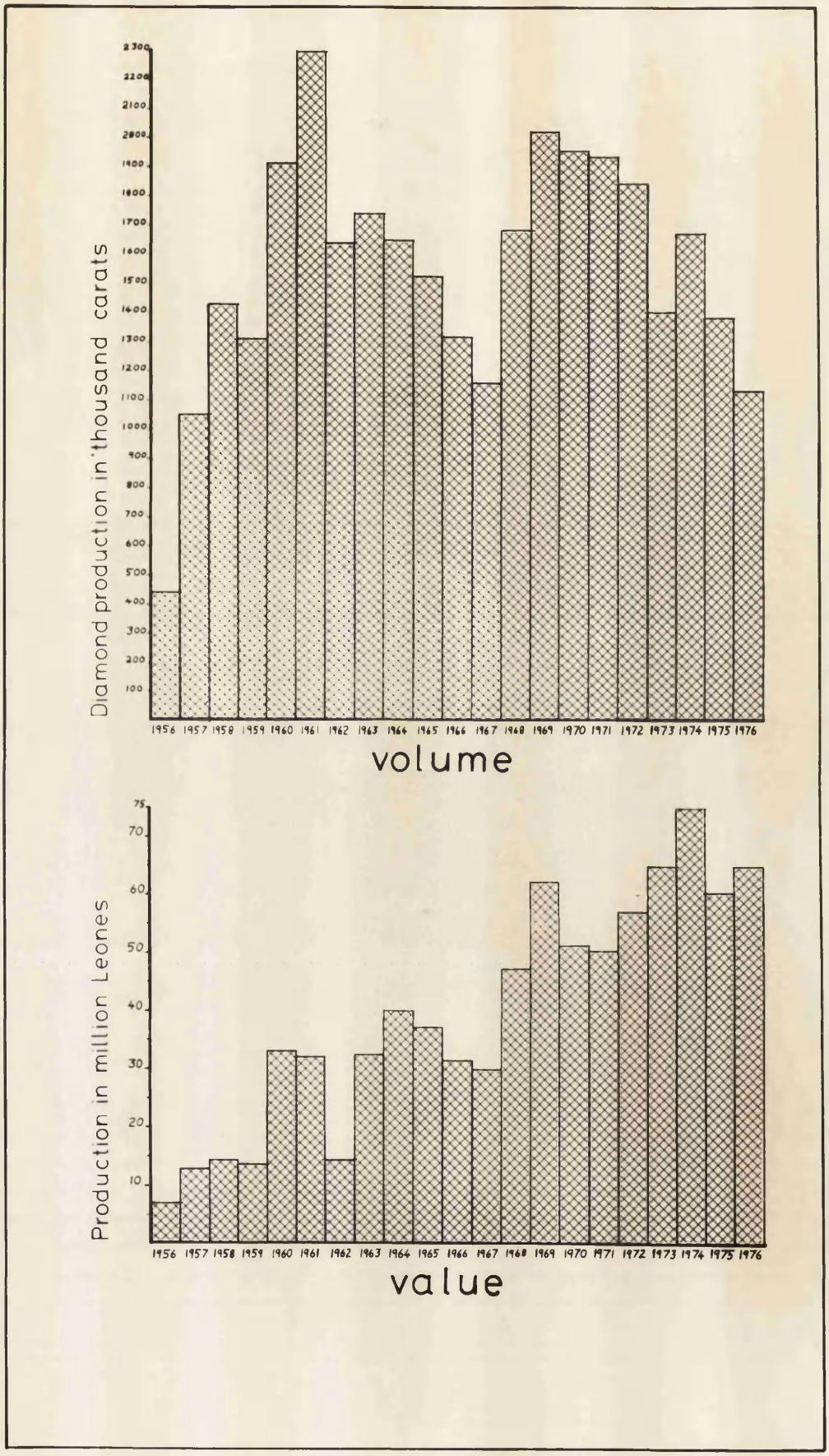

Figure 7. Legal diamond production 1956-1976

1969 this had jumped to 71% while throughout the past twenty years diamond exports have consistently formed over 60% of the country's exports (National Development Plan 1974). See figure 7 showing diamond production by volume and by value.

The 1969 diamond rush probably involved more people than the first rush of the 1950's, but by then the mining areas in Kono, Kenema and Bo Districts were better able to absorb the influx. A more detailed analysis of numbers, of migrations and trends in central Kono is made in Chapter 4 of this study. Legal production in 1969 was considerably higher than at any time during the 1950's diamond rush, but there is evidence of considerable smuggling taking place in 1969 (London Daily Telegraph 21.3.69.) (Van der Laan 1975),[10] so that the total diamond exports, both legal and illegal, may also have been greater in the 1969 rush than in the 1950's.

When the decline in production set in after 1970, much pessimism was expressed about the future, giving the company no more than fifteen years of productive life and the A.D.M.S. only five years (Rake 1971). The decline until 1972 was quite gradual, with production still very high. Then in 1973 there was a rapid drop, a recovery in 1974, and decline again since then. Small diamond rushes took place, but with an air of desperation about them. When N.D.M.C. began prospecting deep deposits near Bo in 1974 many thousands of people rushed down from Kono alone.

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10. Estimates of smuggling after 1969 are scanty, because it implied dealers' connivance. As smuggling was induced by high prices and demand in Monrovia, 1969 may have been a peak year for smuggling.

In Koidu during 1973 and 1974 the peak of population was probably reached (see later Chapter on Koidu for detailed figures and explanation of population totals and estimates) as people came to Koidu from declining mining settlements in remoter parts of central Kono. The town was extremely crowded during early 1974 and could have had a maximum population of 100,000.[11, 12] By January 1975 it seemed empty, although numbers appeared to indrease later in the year, and a survey of December 1975 suggests a population of about 60,000. The census of December 1974 may also have prompted many individuals, without permits to reside in Kono, to have fled the area. However, from Koidu alone a movement of up to 50,000 people may have taken place, whereas only 45,000 foreign diggers are estimated to have left the whole country in 1956. At the same time in 1974 the rise in oil prices and resulting inflation finished off the marginal miners who had been barely surviving from season to season.

By 1976 more than 85% of the diamondiferous swamps of central Kono had been mined and only about 5% of the deposits still remained to be mined. Illicit mining was disrupting the small amount left, although throughout the diamond era most illicit mining has taken place around Koidu, where the Woyie stream has been mined by hundreds of diggers at a time, undercutting the foundations of houses (N.D.M.C. 15.1.76.). The rising price of diamonds has offset the decline in both production and the quality

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11. Estimate based on house occupancy and numbers of houses in Development Proposals for Central Kono, Sierra Leone, Report published by Kenneth Scott Associates, Architects and Town Planners, June 1970.

12. Estimates by Koidu/New Sembehun Town Council and by Reverend K. Todd, Koidu Methodist Church.

of stones being mined. By the mid 1960's gemstones comprised only 14 to 19% of the caratage, although 80 to 90% by value. The ratio of gems to industrials in the original gravel had been 1 to 1, suggesting the higher smuggling rates quoted by Mitchell and Swindell (Mitchell and Swindell 1965).

In the 1970's 50% of N.D.M.C. production went to three U.S. dealers, Templesman 27½%, Winston 20% and Kaplan 2½% and G.D.O./ DICOR 50%, who had diamond export licences (Marriot 1971). Other diamond exporters later obtained licences and established offices in Kono and Kenema, but their share of the trade was insignificant. In Kono DICOR had offices in Koidu and Jaiama Nimikoro, south of the company lease. The establishment of other diamond buyers and exporters in the country, provided competition with DICOR, thus ensuring fair prices and a reduction in smuggling. A diamond polishing factory was set up in Freetown during 1965 (Akinwunmi 1967) but all diamonds are still sold uncut in Freetown to the principal exporters.

When the All People's Congress party (A.P.C.) returned to power after the military N.R.C. had been deposed, Siaka Stevens as leader (earlier as Minister of Mines he had worked on the 1952 and 1955 agreements with S.L.S.T.) promised the nationalisation of S.L.S.T. The Sierra Leone press had always been fairly anti-S.L.S.T., but they stepped up the campaign of attacking the company during 1969 as a prelude to nationalisation, with editorials, (Freetown Daily Mail 23.10.69. and 21.10.69.), and accounts of all manner of small incidents and nonsense, aimed against the company, even including an allegation that the S.L.S.T. helicopter had tried to bomb a magistrate's car (Unity 16.11.70.).

In October 1970 S.L.S.T. was incorporated as a private company with the Sierra Leone government owning 51% of the shares (Unity 4.12.70., N.D.M.C. Annual Report 1970). The compensation paid to the company by the government was probably to the advantage of S.L.S.T., as deposits were running out and investment in the future in Sierra Leone would not have been great. At the time, though, the second diamond rush was in full swing and to the public, the diamonds seemed inexhaustible.

The contract mining scheme continued on the lease but was not very successful. Equipment was rented from the company, deposits had to be mined by strip techniques, in areas where the company admitted they could not use their heavy machinery, and diamonds had to be sold through the company (Joseph 1974). There were demands in the 1970's for more contract mining sites, for the A.D.M.S. to be allowed on part of the lease in Gbense and Nimikoro chiefdoms and for the mining of company tailings (Unity 2.6.71.) (Freetown Daily Mail 22.1.69.). Illicit miners demonstrated with placards and marches in Yengema and Koidu during 1974, but generally failed to win any concessions.

In the early period of illicit digging and the A.D.M.S., the diamond dealers, especially the Lebanese, had supplied the diggers with equipment, goods and food on credit. They had often gone out to the diggings to buy diamonds on the spot, then smuggling them to Monrovia, or later selling them to DICOR. At first the Lebanese were ruled out of diamond dealing licences, then subject to loss of the licence for any suspected irregularity.[13] But as the price of a diamond buying licence rose after

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13. Lebanese traders based themselves in small towns on the edge of Kono before 1960 to intercept illicit stones, in Segbwema, Mano Junction and Masingbi, at first taking out licences in 1960 in these places.

1960, the Lebanese were allowed to take out licences with diminished harrassment. After 1960 many Lebanese and African diamond buyers moved to Koidu and Kenema where they became office based, waiting for customers to bring diamonds to them. Diamond dealers by this time usually sold directly to DICOR, as smuggling was no longer as profitable. The Koidu and Kenema concentration of dealers increased competition and ensured fairer prices for the diggers. Many young men came straight out from the Lebanon, sometimes after finishing school, to go into a dealing business, and were able to get rich overnight from one big diamond sale. Smuggling fluctuated according to DICOR's action in raising or lowering prices and the Government's action in raising or lowering export duty. By the late 1960's DICOR had realised the necessity of being content with a low profit margin. After the deposits along the Sewa had been virtually worked out in 1969, there was a movement both of diggers and dealers to Kono. By 1972 there were 79 diamond dealers in Kono of whom 25 were African and 54 Lebanese. Only in 1969 had there been a greater number, 84 dealers of whom 45 were African and 39 Lebanese. In 1960 Kono had 50 dealers, 49 of them African and 1 Lebanese.

Apart from diamond dealing the general merchandise trade was also very profitable in Kono (Van der Laan 1975). Non-Kono had to obtain residential permits to live in Kono, and on the granting or withdrawing of these depended the dealers' and traders' livelihood. Thus they were usually willing to bribe to maintain them and lived in permanent fear of expulsion. Occasionally non-Sierra Leoneans, especially Gambians, were

expelled from Kono (Unity 8.6.71., Daily Mail 16.4.69), but the Lebanese were usually in greater danger, even though most of them were not dealing in diamonds. In 1971 there were 175 Lebanese adult men in Kono, 150 of them in Koidu. In 1969 24 families were driven out of Kono (Daily Mail 29.5.69.), in 1970 187 Lebanese permits were seized in Kono (Unity 18.6.70.) and 85 were actually driven out (Unity 16.6.70.). Then again in 1971 17 more Lebanese were expelled (Nation 19.10.71.).

As part of their trading techniques both diggers and dealers, especially the Lebanese, made themselves very conspicuous in their spending and lifestyles. During 1969/70 central Kono was calculated to have the highest number of Mercedes Benz cars per 100 people of any place in the world (N.D.M.C. 15.1.76.). Gambling, night club entertainments and drinking were also very conspicuous in Koidu during 1969 (Daily Telegraph Magazine 21.3.69.).

Apart from the Lebanese many African foreign diggers were also expelled during the stranger drives of 1969 and 1971. In 1969 500 men were arrested at one time (Daily Mail 8.4.1969.), 3,000 in 1970 (Daily Mail 17.2.70.) and 600 in 1971 (Unity 7.7.71.) as well as an expulsion of 200 women in 1970 (Daily Mail 26.2.70.). Smaller stranger drives took place more frequently.

The Koidu diamond market depended more than ever on illicit diamond mining. Gravel was dug up on the lease and even loaded into taxis to be transported to licensed sites for peaceful washing and sorting. Arrangement masters, usually dealers in Koidu, became more important during the late 1960's and 1970's in spon-

soring and supplying large organised illicit operations (Rosen 1974). In the Woyie stream in the centre of Koidu, up to 3,000 I.D.M.'s had been counted at one time. By 1969 the S.L.S.T. security force was only 900 strong. The number of illicit miners arrested in 1968 in July and December alone was 2,556, but there was only one magistrate in Kono and all cases were dealt with as fully as possible in longhand (S.L.S.T. 1969). Roads were dug up by illicit miners, streams were dammed, causing flooding, while some house owners in Koidu had even gone so far as to knock down their houses, and to sell off minute plots of land to diamond miners.

The most highly organised operation was that of Katanga, where illicit miners, mostly non-Kono and especially non-Sierra Leoneans, established an 'independent' administration based on the Tama Forest area of Nimiyema chiefdom and centring on the town of Massagbendu. It was financed by some Lebanese and possibly backed by politicians, having its own entry permits, taxes and chiefs. It existed for three years with over 1,000 subjects, eventually being attacked and destroyed by a full scale military operation (Minikin 1971). After theminers had been dispersed a new Tama Forest section was created in Nimiyema chiefdom and Massagbendu has continued to thrive as an I.D.M. settlement.

Crime and anarchy during the 1969/70 period reached a new peak. In 1969 diamond dealers were allowed to carry revolvers for their protection, and some did so quite openly (Van der Laan 1975). In 1971 18 truckloads of gravel were stolen in one raid from the N.D.M.C. lease (Nation 8.11.71.), 12 of them taken after

an attack on security guards. Expatriate employees at N.D.M.C. were caught stealing diamonds (Nation 6.11.71., 14.10.71.). Massed battles took place between security police and I.D.M.'s (Nation 6.10.71.), and between political factions, led by rich diamond dealers (Unity 18.6.70.). Shooting incidents escalated, involving car chases (Daily Mail 26.4.69.), trigger happy Lebanese (Unity 3.4.70.), armed robbery (Daily Mail 12.7.69., 26.2.70., Unity 11.4.70., Nation 5.10.71.), and even the case of a Lebanese robber using dynamite (15.11.70.). The largest diamond robbery involved an alleged Le 3 million of diamonds, snatched at Hastings Airport, after which the flamboyant leader of the Koidu Lebanese, Henneh Shamel, was arrested, tried, found not guilty and deported, after a case which suggested involvement of government members and S.L.S.T. (Daily Mail 14.11.69., 24.2.70.). Murders in Kono were frequent, especially involving diamond dealers and illicit miners (Daily Mail 28.6.69., Nation 28.10.71.), as also were gunfights between security police and illicit diggers, sometimes resulting in miners being drowned while escaping (Unity 8.5.70., 27.5.70.). Cases of diggers being buried alive when illicit diamond pits collapsed, were common (Daily Mail 16.4.69., Unity 9.4.70.). Smuggling scandals occasionally involved government ministers and diplomats (Unity 20.6.70., 17.3.71.), while corruption among government officials in Kono involved permits' rackets (Unity 29.4.70.) and compensation swindles (Unity 2.2.71.).

Politically Kono was very influential during the 1960's. The Kono Progressive Movement (K.P.M.) and its successor, the Sierra Leone Progressive Independence Movement (S.L.P.I.M.) capitalised both on the refusal of S.L.S.T. to grant African miners

areas to dig on the lease and on the lack of government investment in services and facilities in the area. DICOR and S.L.S.T. were also found to have supported the S.L.P.P. before the 1962 election, a factor which lost all three support in Kono (Cartwright 1970). Albert Margai, Prime Minister of the S.L.P.P. government in the mid-1960's made deals with the Lebanese community (Daily Mail 29.9.67.) in Koidu and attempted to bribe the secretary of the Democratic People's Congress (D.P.C., a successor to Mbriwa's K.P.M./S.L.P.I.M. which had collapsed earlier) to dissolve the party (We Yone 4.9.65.). Such allegations weakened the S.L.P.P. and strengthened the radical Kono parties.

The D.P.C. became increasingly associated with the All Peoples' Congress (A.P.C., a mass based party under S.P. Stevens by 1966, and strong in the north of Sierra Leone). The A.P.C. won the 1967 Election, but was prevented by Albert Margai from taking power, resulting in a military coup, which abolished all political parties. The N.R.C. which governed for a year acted clumsily in relation to Kono and I.D.M., making smuggling and illicit mining worse. When the A.P.C. came back to legal power it joined forces with the D.P.C. of Kono. Both parties had made promises in favour of the illicit miners and many Temne rushed to the diamond fields in 1968 and 1969 when they saw their own politicians in power (Minikin 1971). The A.P.C. attitude remained ambivalent towards the illicit miners, while the anti-S.L.S.T. campaign prior to the government take-over, negated any advantages that could have been gained by taking control of S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. Illicit mining was not seriously tackled after 1970.

Areas of central Kono that developed rapidly after 1956 were along the river Sewa, and south of the Bafi in Nimiyema chiefdom. This area had been very remote before the new Kono road was built, eventually to link Koidu and Freetown, but passing through Jaiama Sewafe and Temne country. The new Kono road was found to have contributed to an increase in illicit mining. For this reason its construction had been opposed by S.L.S.T. (Blair - Kono Road Project, 1975). Improvements in communication throughout central Kono increased the spread of I.D.M. and of new settlements.

The 1969 diamond rush was influenced by the change in political power, but may also have been prompted by the competitive desire of A.D.M.S. diggers to make the most of the diminishing diamond deposits. The trading and price structure by that period favoured the diggers. The wealthy urban mining areas also formed an attraction for rural-urban migration, so that many people moving to towns like Koidu and Kenema did not go there in order to mine diamonds.

By 1975 N.D.M.C. had a workforce of about 5,000 people and had begun to retrench, cutting back on its staff with early retirements, and not taking on new employees. The company is maintaining production around 700,000 carats a year, but only by treating much more gravel. The A.D.M.S. areas are all but worked out. By 1977 the diamond boom had ended and no prosperous future was discernible to the inhabitants of the urbanised and wealthy diamond belt. High prices and few diamonds caused widespread dissatisfaction resulting in riots, initiated by university and

school students, which spread throughout Sierra Leone in 1977. Attacks were made on the A.P.C. and on property, especially in the south. As the rioting lost its impetus, with the A.P.C. still firmly in control, a general election was called, returning the A.P.C. unanimously, while supporters of the S.L.P.P. and those involved in the riots were sought out. Many deaths occurred, possibly running into several hundreds.

The next chapter considers some of the changes that have taken place in the society, economy, politics and infrastructure in central Kono as a result of diamond mining.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL CHANGE AND MODERNISATION

Modernisation and Development in Sierra Leone

The changes that took place in Kono during the period of the diamond rush were not isolated phenomena. Change occurred throughout Sierra Leone as a result of the western impact of British colonialism. The changes that were initiated by this impact, in the economy, political organisation, transport and provision of new services and facilities, can be termed modernisation. Modernisation, according to Riddell (Riddell 1970, page 44) is the "process whereby traditional institutions, methods, and patterns of life are adapted to or replaced by new more modern forms". The process can be a combination of western and African ideas and ways of life.

Kilson (Kilson 1966) sees modernisation as the changes that result from contact between western industrial society with the largely pre-literate, pre-industrial African society. It involves a change from the subsistence to the market economy and the establishment of new more extensive political institutions which transcend the links of family, clan and tribe. The change, modernisation, also involved a shift in emphasis in African society, from the extended family, communal society to a more individual, materialist, achievement orientation. Personal achievement was encouraged by education and materialism by the cash economy. Harvey (Harvey 1972) illustrates this change in attitude succinctly: "education and wealth replaced gallantry in warfare". The colonial impact also encouraged individual mobility (Joseph 1972). Personal control of mobility is an aspect of

modernisation which has interacted with the development of a transport network to bring about migration and urbanisation.

In considering the urban response in Kono District, to diamond mining, this study is in part an analysis of modernisation in that area. It is not intended here to analyse the extent to which diamond mining was influential in instigating or directing the modernisation process in Kono, but rather to examine the urban change that has occurred in the area and the form that modernisation has taken in urban settlements. While it is certain that Kono was extremely under-developed before the diamond era, and that it is fairly highly developed now, in relation to the rest of the country, it would not be accurate to state that this was entirely due to diamond mining. While the process of modernisation has been very rapid in Kono, it is no isolated phenomenon, as the same process has also taken place throughout Sierra Leone.

So before looking at the Kono response to change and to diamond mining, it is useful to consider the modernisation process throughout Sierra Leone, to put Kono in its proper context. In Sierra Leone development and modernisation were initiated and spread through the Freetown colony, the administrative centres in the Protectorate, the railway line, the produce trade and mines (Gamble 1964). Riddell's thesis is that modernisation, urbanisation, and development took place outwards from Freetown, through the transport network and concentrated in the urban hierarchy (Riddell 1970, page 93). The urban hierarchy thus developed from administrative centres, produce buying stations and later on mines and to a lesser extent missions which

established schools or hospitals in some centres.

Riddell's second postulation is that migration to Freetown (and by implication, to other urban centres) occurs as a response to the modernisation process (Riddell 1970, page 95). Step migration occurs in which the smaller urban centres act as catalysts, preparing individuals for urban living (Riddell 1970, page 110). As modernisation takes place new lifestyles, facilities and opportunities are presented to people who respond to them by moving closer to the source of all that is new, to the city, especially the capital, going up the steps of the urban hierarchy. Improvements in the rural areas usually increase migration, Riddell concluded, from analysing the place of origin of Freetown immigrants (Riddell 1970, pages 126-127).

Riddell stresses the importance of the railway in introducing modernisation and development to the Sierra Leone interior, although the railway was built (even if extensive research and planning of the route were lacking)[1] into the south eastern area. This region already contained a high population density and the potential for tree cash crops. Also, by chance, the area contained the diamond deposits which later led to a further increase in the transportation network, the population density and the institutions of modernisation. The fact that the railway tapped the most productive part of the country was of considerable importance.

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1. The colonial administration decided to build the railway across the south of the country, instead of into the north east grasslands, and ultimately to Timbuktu as had been suggested in 1888, because the forest region was potentially rich as a tree cash crop area.

However, Riddell's study is valuable in showing the spread of different indices or institutions of change. He analyses and correlates twenty-two variables of modernisation. The overall pattern of diffusion is a spread inland from the coast and north eastwards from the railway line, decreasing into the interior (Riddell 1970, pages 91-92). See figure 8 showing modernisation, by chiefdom, relative to Freetown.

Most individual variables show the same diffusion pattern. Native administrations (Riddell 1970, page 53), which were extended to all chiefdom headquarters were important in spreading small scale development projects, such as road building, sanitary programmes and primary school construction. Medical facilities (Riddell 1970, pages 57 and 60) spread in relation to administrative centres, and to missions which were concentrated mainly in the south of the country. In 1972 there were 20 government hospitals, 8 mission and 3 mining hospitals, with 2,837 beds (excluding mining hospitals) to serve the 3 million population. There were a further 29 government health centres and 86 dispensaries and treatment centres (National Development Plan 1974, page 267). The increase in facilities had been slow during the 1960's, and demand for new medical centres is high.

Primary education spread with the transport network and the Christian missions in the initial stages of modernisation, so that the Muslim North of Sierra Leone received less (Riddell 1970, pages 65-67). There was a rapid expansion of primary education in the early 1960's and again during the 1970's as small schools were extended to villages, although limited to the roadside settlements. Primary school pupils doubled from 81,900 in 1960

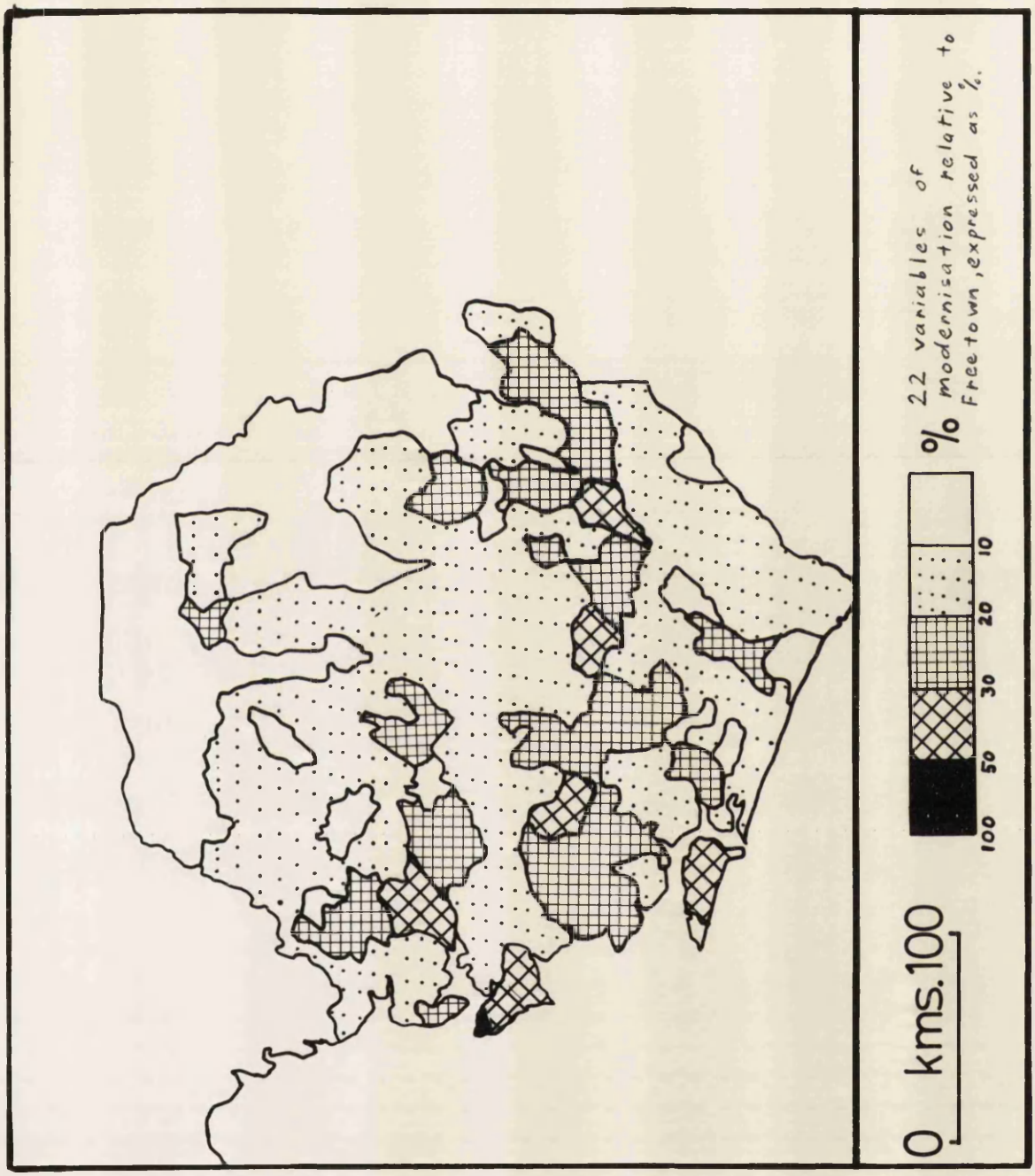

Figure 8. Modernisation in Sierra Leone: relative to Freetown - 100% (Riddell, 1970)

to 166,100 in 1970. Teachers were recruited, but the proportion of qualified teachers decreased (National Development Plan 1974, page 228). Secondary schools, as central places attracting pupils from greater distances, were distributed in the larger towns (Riddell 1970, page 69). Secondary school pupils increased by more than four times from 7,097 in 1960 to 33,318 in 1970 (National Development Plan 1970, page 228). Co-operative movements were based on cash cropping of cocoa and coffee in the south east, and swamp rice in the north west (Riddell 1970, pages 75-78). Post Offices were concentrated initially along the railway line and in administrative centres, but with the spread of education and money they have been extended to many smaller places, such as chiefdom headquarters (Riddell 1970, pages 80-81). Banks are in the main commercial centres; provincial headquarters and mining towns (Riddell 1970, page 86).

The transport network itself developed from the coast, initially by river from the coast as far as the head of navigation. When the railway was built to Pendembu, with its link to Makeni, short feeder roads branched off. These gradually extended, tree-like, as main roads were also built out of Freetown into the Provinces. Although the railway has closed, the transport network is still focussed on Freetown; 'see' figure 9, showing the transport system that had developed by 1975. Road links improved after 1967 when the railway closed. As roads have improved, so the time distance to Freetown has shrunk dramatically, and with it, transportation costs (Riddell 1970, pages 35, 37, 39-41). After 1945 dominance of the modernisation process by the transport network was weakened (Riddell 1970, page 64). The densest road

Plate 5. Communications in Rural Areas. A main track and bridge over the Gbobora river, serving villages away from the road outside the diamond area.

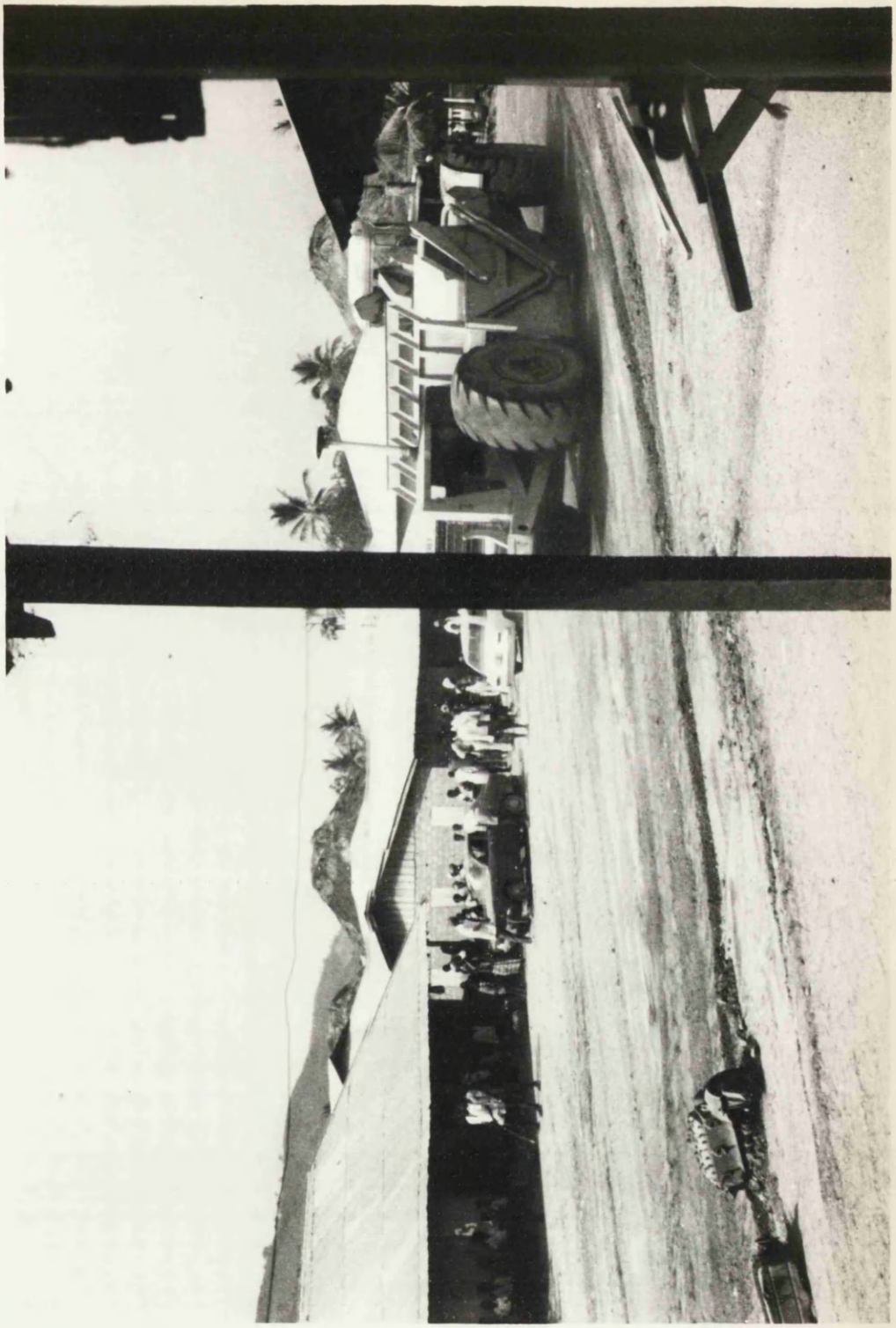

Plate 6. Road Building in Jaiama Nimikoro. A NDMC grader levelling the road prior to a tarred surface being laid

network is in the urbanised south eastern area of Bo, Kenema and Kono Districts. The number of motor vehicles doubled in five years from 20,621 in 1967 to 44,996 in 1972. The Freetown-Makeni-Koidu and Freetown-Bo-Kenema roads are completely surfaced and a feeder road programme has extended minor roads into the rural areas, especially in the south east (National Development Plan, 1974, pages 207-220).

Not only does Riddell's study show most modernisation to have occurred in the south eastern area and the Freetown peninsula, but maps of town distribution, water and electricity supplies, services and manufacturing industries, show the same pattern of development (Sierra Leone in Maps 1969, maps 20, 31, 32 and 46).

A study of occupation statistics from the 1963 census showed the Western Area to be the most developed and industrialised. The next areas in terms of a non-agricultural workforce were Kono and Kenema Districts, with Bo District slighly behind, but still well above the national average (Dewdney 1967).

Forde (Forde 1967)[2] carried out a factor analysis of vari-

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2. The variables were:
   (1) population density
   (2) % of population under 5 years
   (3) % of population over 15 years
   (4) the male/female ratio in the over 15 years age group
   (5) % in towns over 2,500 population
   (6) children aged 5 to 11 years in primary school
   (7) hospitals per 1,000 persons
   (8) Post Offices per 1,000 persons
   (9) % of adult population with savings accounts
   (10) road miles per unit area
   (11) ratio of class I to class II roads

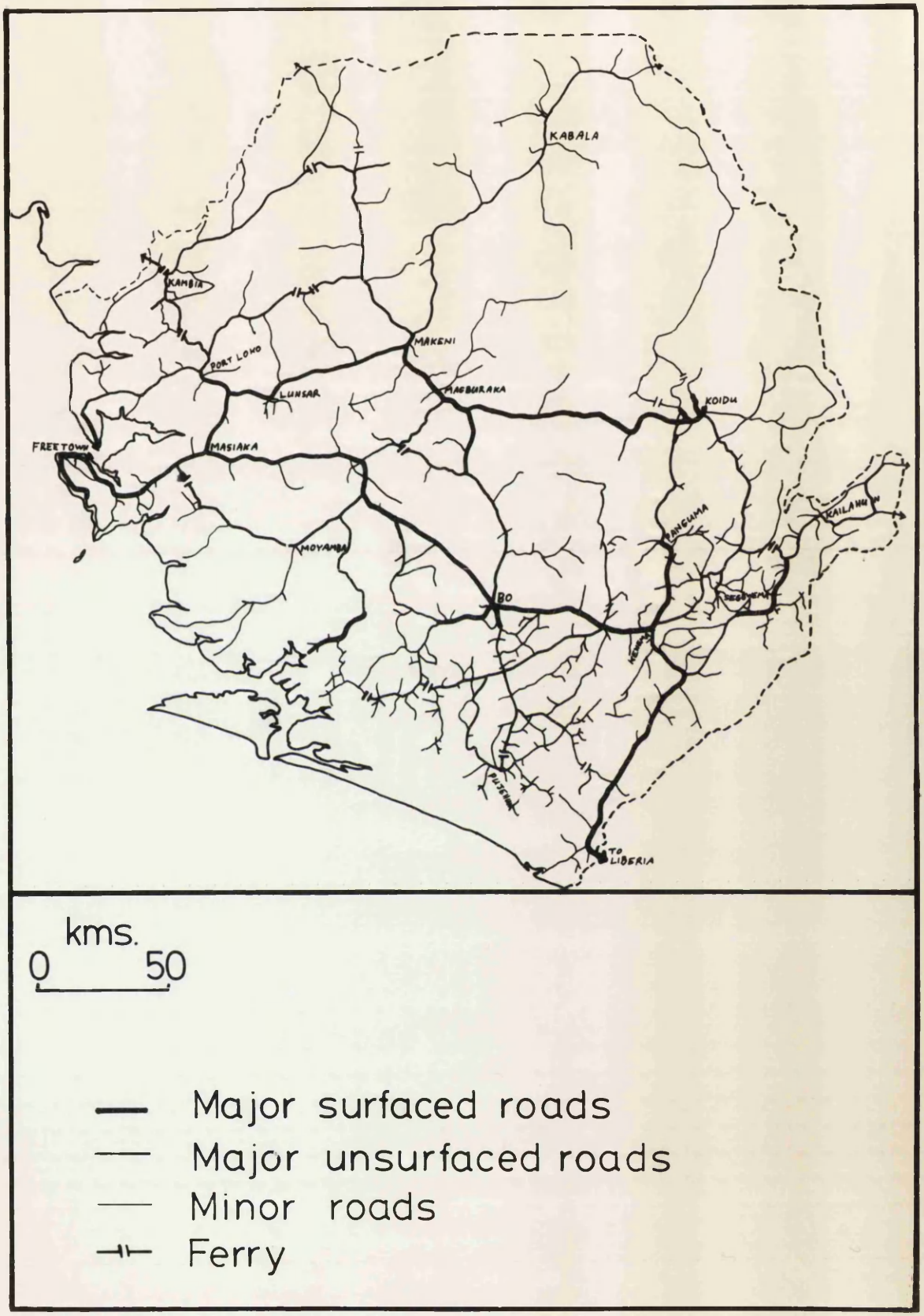

Figure 9. Transport network in Sierra Leone 1976

ables of modernisation. On this basis she classified the districts as: least developed, Koinadugu, Bombali, Kambia, Port Loko, Tonkolili; less developed, Moyamba, Bonthe, Pujehun and Kailahun; more developed, Kono, Bo and Kenema; most developed, Western Area.

While modernisation has taken place, involving the establishment of a social and economic infrastructure, the economy of Sierra Leone has diversified, especially during the 1950's (Van der Laan 1975). Modernisation and economic diversification have not occurred equally. Freetown and the Western Area have maintained their primacy in all aspects of modernisation. A second urbanised, developed area, dependent upon cash cropping and diamond mining has emerged in Bo, Kenema and Kono Districts. The former two districts received the initial impetus from the railway and are well endowed with facilities as well as having a strong rural cash cropping base, and a few manufacturing industries. Kono, while at the same level of modernisation, is much more dependent on diamonds alone, than are Bo and Kenema Districts. Had diamonds not been found in Kono, the area would still have changed as the modernisation process has affected the whole country. It can be assumed that diamond mining in Kono initiated a rapid change and then determined the speed of that change.

Modernisation and Development in Kono

Modernisation in Kono, and the development of an urban and social infrastructure, occurred mainly during the diamond era. In the following chapters, the development of a road network, an urban hierarchy and of urban functions, will be examined in great

detail. This section shows the overall development of the area from the beginning of the century.

Modernisation began in Kono with the entry of missionaries to Jaiama Nimikoro in 1910, where the first school and a church were built. The churches were to prove less important than the schools in their impact in Kono. The District Office for Kono was established at the village of Sefadu in Gbense chiefdom and in 1929 the first road, passable only during the dry season, was constructed from Segbwema to Sefadu. In 1930 dirt roads were constructed from Sefadu to Jaiama Sewafe, Jagbwema and Kayima.

S.L.S.T. built its first mining camps between 1933 and 1936, the main ones being at Yengema village in Nimikoro chiefdom and New Sembehun in Tankoro. There were still no settlements in Kono that could be called towns at this stage.

Schools, before 1930, had been built at Jaiama Nimikoro, Kayima, Gandorhun, Tumbodu and Koidu (Minikin 1971). In the 1930's coins came into common use and large settlements began to develop central place functions, providing the services of education, health care and marketing or trade, as well as the earlier functions of chiefdom rule and local court. In 1949 4.3% of the children in Kono were estimated to be in school, while by 1954 the proportion had increased to 6.2% (Minikin 1971). By 1956 there were 16 primary schools in Kono. In the central diamond mining chiefdoms these were at Jaiama Nimikoro, Jaiama Sewafe, Tumbodu, Tefeya, 2 schools in Koidu and 2 in Yengema. By 1968/69 there were 26 U.M.C. primary schools and 28 Catholic primary schools in the whole of Kono. Health care in 1956, consisted of the S.L.S.T. hospital in Yengema, a government dispensary in

Koidu, a 35 bed hospital in Koidu, a mission dispensary in Jaiama Nimikoro and a sleeping sickness dispensary at Gandorhun.

During the 1960's S.L.S.T. became much more involved in the development of Kono. Grants to Kono and Lower Bambara chiefdom in 1963 were a total of Le. 50,000 (S.L.S.T. 1964) while during 1969 to 1971 Le. 84,000 was spent in Kono alone. The company helped build hospitals, houses, roads, Koidu community centre, water supplies, court and community Barries, primary and secondary schools, supplied generators to schools and chiefdoms, tractors for basin farming in eastern Kono, and roads (S.L.S.T. 1964) (Matturi 1971).

S.L.S.T. also co-operated with the Kono District Council (K.D.C.) in building facilities funded by the Council. Between 1959 and 1969 the K.D.C. operated rural development projects in Nimiyema, Nimikoro, Tolli, Soa and Kamara chiefdoms. There were 36 separate school building projects in which 94 classrooms were built, as well as staff houses being constructed for school teachers on secondary school compounds. The K.D.C. made and supplied 684 pieces of school furniture and was involved with S.L.S.T. in the building of Koidu community dentre and the sports stadium. The K.D.C. also constructed one road, but more importantly, erected 56 concrete bridges and laid 1,040 concrete culverts on existing and new roads.[3] In 1970 the K.D.C. was suspended and the Koidu/New Sembehun Town Council continued its work within the Koidu urban area only. Some chiefdoms, Soa, Kamara, Lei, Fiama and Nimiyema had set up Development Unions. Nimiyema made substantial achievements in building and tarring roads (Minikin 1971).

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3. District Office Sefadu, District Works Officer to Kono District Council, file P/6/31/2, Construction Projects undertaken by the Kono District Council 1959-69.

By 1976, in central Kono alone, there were about 35 primary schools and 7 secondary schools.

Funding for development projects initially came from the Mining Benefits Fund, amounting only to a few thousand pounds for all mining areas and administered by the Protectorate Assembly in 1950. The 1958 Development Plan allotted £100,000 to Kono through the Mining Areas Development Authority funds (M.A.D.A.) and Roads Grants. Political friction between Kono and the central government resulted in these grants being reduced to practically nothing in 1962 and 1963 (Cartwright 1970). £10,000 was actually given to Kono, but by 1964 it had not been spent. The K.D.C. was owed Le. 115,000 by 1969 (Minikin 1971).

Money earned by private miners and dealers, illicit and licensed, was sometimes invested in development projects, but much of it, being in the hands of non-Konos and even non-Sierra Leoneans, left the area. Wealthy Gambians claim that the Gambian hotel boom and tourist industry were built with Kono diamond wealth. Wealthy Lebanese make the same claim about Kissi Street in Freetown and even more spectacularly, claim that a large part of Beirut was built with Kono diamond money. But apart from repatriation of wealth and ostentatious consumption in the boom towns of Kono, wealthy diamond miners have invested in the housing boom, by building houses, especially in Koidu. House prices and rents have been high, encouraging the construction of buildings which employ the use of concrete and other modern materials.

In 1966 Harvey (Harvey 1966, Vol. I) made a classification of towns, by urban functions. He listed 7 urban centres in central Kono, sharing 52 urban functions between them. Using a

similar classification of functions (see later, chapter 4) in 1976 there were 25 centres with urban functions in central Kono, sharing 138 functions between them. All these urban functions represent aspects and institutions of modernisation. The remaining 8 chiefdoms of Kono, including most of Sando chiefdom, although far greater in area than central Kono, still lack facilities and social infrastructure. There were only 10 centres in the rest of the district, providing such central place functions as primary schools, dispensaries, chiefdom administration and markets.

Impact of Mining and Change on Kono Culture and Society

Many of the Kono people claim to have lost unity and cohesion amongst their tribe, as a result of the impact of the cash economy, roads, towns, different ethnic cultures, Christianity, Islam and education. Many of the Kono have changed to these new ways, becoming associated with different groups of strangers. These changes have resulted in a decline of the traditional authority of the Kono Paramount Chiefs, and the rise of rich men, youth and an educated class, as separate, divided groups, apart from the traditional sector. There has also been a degeneration of the secret societies and of sacred sites. Crime, violence, prostitution and corruption have all posed serious threats to Kono morality, while the spread of Christianity and Islam has been at the expense of Kono beliefs. The idea of individualism, as opposed to the more traditional, communal co-operation and inter-dependence, has been encouraged by education, by the increased mobility afforded by roads and

towns, and by the cash economy, commerce and industry, which allow independence from the traditional rural system. A number of researchers have observed and attempted to analyse the changes that occurred in Kono during the diamond era.

Parsons (Parsons 1964) wrote mainly about the organisation of traditional Kono society in the pre-diamond era, but he was able to observe the initial changes that came before and with the diamond rush. The road from Segbwema to Sefadu first introduced European goods to Kono and brought about a change in clothing. The Christian missions in Kono were mainly brought by Sierra Leoneans from the south, especially the Sherbro people who came with the E.U.B. mission. S.L.S.T. was anti-missionary at first, but employees of the company, mainly Christian Mendes and Creoles, built their own churches. Islam had penetrated the area much earlier through Muslim traders, who introduced Koran schools, but did not try to convert the Kono. Parsons lists several superficial changes in central Kono after the diamond rush got under way. Tin roofs became widespread, there was a breakdown in family units, easier marriage and divorce, and a decline in the authority of the Paramount Chief, over whom there had already been imposed an external authority, in the District Commissioner and central government. Social bonds were also weakened by individualism. Sacred bushes were desecrated by mining and the Poro society declined in influence as the length of time for initiation decreased to a few weeks or even days. Tiafoe also mentioned the decrease in time spent in the Poro bush and in particular a drop in the age for initiates to enter the society.

Rosen (Rosen 1974) was concerned with the role of the Paramount Chieftaincy in modernisation and social and political change. Kono beliefs were adapted to the mercenary influences of diamond mining, when a ritual formula was adopted to deconsecrate sacred bushes, for which there were fixed compensation rates, when destroyed by mining. Mining took men out of agriculture, leaving women in greater control of farming, and with more freedom to indulge in marketing. Woman enjoyed financial success in these activities. Rosen claims that there was an increase in beliefs in witchcraft and fatalism during the diamond era. The Poro society was losing its influence as Chiefs became more independent of it, despite their own decline in power. The Chiefs have remained dominant locally, emerging as political entrepreneurs who control local level mining. Rosen claimed that they are a modern elite but not a modernising elite.

Minikin (Minikin 1971) mentions the modernising effect of new groups in society; the young men, educated people, strangers and ex-servicemen. These people adopted and spread new ideas and lifestyles.

Sorie Conteh (Sorie Conteh 1973) claims that the compensation paid for the desecration of sacred bushes resulted in a sudden proliferation of new sacred bushes in the diamond mining areas. (This phenomenon seems to have been much more common on the S.L.S.T. lease where the company paid compensation than in A.D.M.S. areas where nobody paid compensation.) Sorie Conteh asserts that the cohesion and stability of the traditional society

were maintained by geographical immobility of the people, a value system common to all generations, the economic control of agriculture and parental agreement in marriage contracts. These controls were broken down by towns, roads, western education, western religion and morality, the diversification of the economy and different cultural marital systems.

Urbanisation is an important factor in spreading social change and ecouraging mobility (Riddell 1970, page 110). Within the urban areas of central Kono, although many strangers speak Kono, the common language of communication is Krio, the English vocabulary based language of the Creoles and thus the main language in use in Freetown.

Kono Politics in the Diamond Era

Both at chiefdom level and at district and national level, politics in central Kono after 1950 was concerned with the struggle to control diamond resources (Rosen 1974). Even the establishment and building of Koidu town involved a protracted political controversy between Paramount Chief Kaimachende and the government and S.L.S.T. (Dunbar 1976). After the town had been allowed to exist beside the richest diamond bearing stream in Sierra Leone, the controversy switched to the stranger problem, especially any decision to allow non-Kono to settle or enter Kono, whether freely or with permits (Dunbar 1976). By 1950 the Paramount Chiefs had been involved in national and district politics, with the Chiefs' Conference. After this time most Paramount Chiefs did not strongly oppose the government, while some became associated with the S.L.P.P.

The S.L.P.P. developed as the governing party under Milton

Margai, but drawing most of its prominent members from the better developed south. The S.L.P.P. did not set out to create a mass base or movement of support in the country, and gradually came to be associated with the Mende people, from whom its leadership was mainly drawn. S.L.S.T. had to negotiate with the S.L.P.P. politicians, and when challenged by more radical opposition, preferred to work with the conservative S.L.P.P. Thus a political division developed during the early diamond era, between the S.L.P.P., government, S.L.S.T. and many paramount chiefs, and the northerners, including an element of Guineans, involved in illicit mining.

The diamond rush changed the direction of political development. In the early 1950's 75-80,000 people were in wage employment (including S.L.S.T. workers) (Labour Department 1957). Almost as many were involved in diamond digging; 50 to 75,000 by 1956/57 (Van der Laan 1965, page 65). Most of these diggers were from the north or from outside Sierra Leone. By 1963 it was estimated that 10% of all northern males had gone diamond digging at some time; possibly as many as 20% (Cartwright 1970). Such a large proportion of men who had broken away from traditional restraints, and many of whom had worked in defiance of the law, the government and the foreign company, had a powerful effect upon the S.L.P.P. and the politics of diamond mining. Kilson (1966) also adds the impact of the returning ex-servicemen, and Minikin (1971) the impact of new groups of young men, rich men and the educated people. A mass factor (Kilson 1966) intruded into politics, at first at chiefdom level, expressing itself sometimes in chieftaincy struggles.

The 1956 agreement which set up the A.D.M.S. was deeply resented by the Kono and other diamond diggers who were in Kono. This led directly to the formation of the K.P.M. under T. S. Mbriwa (Cartwright 1970) (Kilson 1966). The K.P.M. was an urban movement based in the diamond mining settlements of Koidu, Bagbema, Yomadu, Yengema, Jaiama Sewafe and Tumbodu. The party was loosely organised, very anti-S.L.S.T., left wing, anti-imperialist and strongly Kono nationalist, although it contained many non-Konos. Later the K.P.M. broadened its national base by joining the Freetown Sierra Leone Independence Movement (S.L.I.M.), to become the Sierra Leone Progressive Independence Movement (S.L.P.I.M.) (Minikin 1971).

Chiefs who were pro-S.L.P.P. used patronage, especially in relation to diamond mining licences, as a weapon against the Kono opposition parties. In the 1960 and 1962 Kono District Council elections the S.L.P.I.M. won most seats. But after the S.L.P.P. won the general election the S.L.P.I.M. was suppressed, supporters were arrested (Freetown Daily Mail 4.6.62.) and T. S. Mbriwa was banished from Kono. In the S.L.P.P. government that followed, one Kono politician, S. L. Matturi, was appointed as a cabinet minister. He was generally unsuccessful in bringing further development or funds to Kono.

A new opposition party was formed in 1965 (Freetown We Yone 17.7.65.), the Democratic Peoples Congress (D.P.C.), which was more radical and left wing than the K.P.M. In the 1967 election the D.P.C. won two parliamentary seats and joined with the All Peoples Congress (A.P.C.), the victorious northerners' party

(Cartwright 1970). Although the A.P.C. was prevented from taking power in 1967, the party has dominated since it returned to power in the following year. At the last general election in 1977 the A.P.C. took most parliamentary seats in the country, although many electoral irregularities, beatings and deaths took place to ensure this victory.

Chiefdom struggles often followed the national and district political pattern and usually involved pro-S.L.P.P. and pro-A.P.C. factions, although they were mainly ruling house struggles. In Gbense chiefdom the chieftaincy was contested by the Kaimachendes and Tollis. The present Paramount Chief Tolli represents A.P.C. interests, although in Koidu town his power is very limited. The Gando, Saquee and Gbensen-Gombu families contested Tankoro chiefdom while the Nimikoro struggle between the Matturi/Bona factions of the ruling family was excessively protracted. In Sando chiefdom a division occurred between the conservative pro-S.L.P.P. Paramount Chief Fasuluku and the K.P.M./D.P.C. factions of the diamond towns along the Bafi river, especially Sumana of Yomadu (Minikin 1971) (Rosen 1974).

Thus modernisation has affected politics. Chiefdom struggles were for control of local level mining, where the Paramount Chiefs were mainly conservative and often pro-S.L.P.P. The mass based radical parties arose in the diamond towns, challenging the Chiefs' authority, anti-S.L.S.T., pro-I.D.M. These have since been legitimised in the A.P.C. government and now pose a serious opposition, at chiefdom level, to the conservative chiefs.

Agricultural Response to Diamond Mining

In the agricultural sector there have been three significant responses to the diamond rushes. Firstly there was an initial decline in production as men left the land to mine diamonds. This happened especially in the areas closest to the diamond deposits, exacerbating localised food shortages. Secondly, the development of a marketing and road infrastructure during the diamond era, especially after 1956, encouraged farmers who were close to the diamond mining towns to produce a surplus of food for the urban markets. Thirdly, diamond miners became increasingly involved in farming. This happened at two levels: diamond diggers, possibly only moderately successful, or optimistic failures, at diamond mining, started to cultivate a few subsistence crops on farm land near the diggings; rich, successful diamond miners, especially Kono , or non-Kono who had settled in the area, invested their money in transport and plantations, particularly coffee, cocoa and fruit trees.

The initial food shortage and inflation of the mid-1950's caused the government serious concern and was another argument, along with anarchy and health problems, used against the diamond rush and its supporters. The 1955 Freetown riots and provincial disturbances were closely related to the inflation and food shortage that accompanied the diamond rush (Van der Laan 1965).

Agricultural production in the 1940's had been high, and the country fed itself. In 1950 rice imports were only 50 tons, but a bad harvest necessitated an increase in imports to over 1,000 tons in 1951, although very little rice was imported during 1952 and 1953. Then the diamond rush exploded and rice imports

rose steadily, to reach 36,800 tons in 1956 and over 31,000 tons in 1957. By 1958 the establishment of the A.D.M.S. and the stranger drives had eased demand and rice production had increased again. However, between 1952 and 1958 exports of benniseed, ginger, groundnuts, palm kernels, palm oil and piassava had all declined in volume. Only cocoa and coffee exports increased in volume during the decade. The type of farmer who would manage a cocoa or coffee plantation would usually be relatively prosperous, and able to delegate care of the trees to labourers or other members of the family, should he wish to mine diamonds for the season. During the early diamond rush local farmers did not take much advantage of the boom and high prices (Shanu-Wilson 1966). Traders took advantage of high demand and prices, exploiting the new markets by moving in foodstuffs and luxury consumer items. Lorry transport, north from the railway line allowed great profits to be made by African and Lebanese entrepreneurs (Van der Laan 1975).

Had the Kono farmers been aware of the possibilities of the new urban markets, they would not have been able to respond effectively because of the lack of a marketing system and transport network before 1950. In non-diamond mining areas, chiefdom and section headquarters, once linked by roads, developed as markets in a network that focussed on the central urban area. Modernisation and infrastructure enabled agriculture to respond to the new urban demand.

The highest contribution to Sierra Leone's Gross Domestic Product has continued to be agriculture, although the proportion

of 38% in 1963/64 declined to 29% by 1973/74 (National Development Plan 1974, page 47). Agricultural exports increased from 18% over the period 1961 to 1970, to 24% of exports by 1973 (National Development Plan 1974, page 83). Food imports by volume also increased from 17% during the decade 1961-70, to 24 % by 1973, at a time when total imports by value also increased considerably (National Development Plan 1974, page 84). (Some of this was caused by inflation, although the major world inflation occurred after 1973.)

The compensation rackets referred to by Sorie Conteh (see Chapter 3 earlier) in relation to sacred bushes, were also extended to agriculture on the S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. lease. It was a common practice in Nimikoro chiefdom for wealthy farmers to obtain advance information of areas to be mined from the company's employees. Tree crops were then planted on the prospective mining site in order to claim the substantial compensation that was awarded against the destruction of plantations.

Binns' (Binns 1977) study of agricultural response to diamond mining in Kono and Kenema Districts, noted a positive response as farmers increasingly catered for the mining settlements and the urban market. Many diggers were seasonal, or temporary workers, coming to the diamond fields either for part of the year and continuing the family farm in the village, or coming for a couple of years to earn cash for a specific need. When poor harvests in the early 1970's added to the general inflation of food prices, the government intensified its efforts to persuade migrant miners to return to the land, in order that the country might become self-sufficient in food again.

Roads have been very important in opening up the rural areas of Kono and developing the marketing system, both at wholesale and retail levels, in the rural and mining areas. Traders work as middlemen between the mining centres and peripheral agricultural regions. As a result there have been increases in the diversity and quantities of fruit and vegetables made available for sale: cassava, oranges, bananas, pineapples, groundnuts and sweet potatoes have become important new food items in the urban markets.

Despite the diversification most farmers keep to old methods of cultivation, usually intercropping vegetables with upland rice, sometimes following the rice harvest with a groundnut crop before leaving the field fallow for between seven and twelve years. The use of farm labour is increasing, and the area under cultivation in the Eastern Province has also increased in recent years. The method of garden cultivation, practised by the Mandingo, has spread widely in central Kono, especially around the mining towns and villages. Many Kono , especially women whose husbands may be away mining, have adopted this form of cultivation. Cocoa and coffee plantations spread into Kono during the 1950's, again aided by the expanding road network. In particular plantation farming has proved a valuable investment for wealthy diamond miners and entrepreneurs.

This concludes the general survey of Kono, the diamond rushes and the response to the diamond wealth. The following chapters contain an account of the main research carried out for this study of diamond mining settlements in central Kono:

the growth of population, the development of an urban hierarchy, and case studies of mining settlements, examining population, occupations, functions and morphology of different types of settlements.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHANGES IN THE POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT GEOGRAPHY OF THE DIAMOND MINING CHIEFDOMS OF CENTRAL KONO

Population in Kono District

During the diamond era the population of Kono increased very rapidly, especially in central Kono. This was largely as a result of immigration. Accompanying this increase the ethnic and occupational structure of the population diversified. Towns and large villages grew or expanded to accommodate this increased population, developing new functions and facilities as urban centres, in order to serve the new population. The style of housing and the spatial patterns of these new settlements differed greatly from the previous patterns of rural villages. A substantial road network developed, linking the settlements and increasing the mobility of the population. Both directly and indirectly the mining of diamonds by ordinary African people was the dominant force behind the migration into central Kono. It provided the attraction of wealth, and the money to modernise the area. In this chapter these changes will be examined as they have affected Kono District and central Kono at the macro level, whereas subsequent chapters will analyse case study settlements at the micro level.

In 1931 the population of Kono District was 74,086 (1931 Census). The preliminary figures for the 1974 census put the population of Koidu/New Sembehun alone at 75,000 (Nath, 1975).

Table 1. Population Increase in Sierra Leone between 1931 and 1974.

	1948[4]	1963[3]	1974[2]
Kono District	91,319	167,915	N.A.
Eastern Province[1]	362,175	545,579	843,575
Southern Province	666,843	542,187	651,444
Northern Province	712,212	897,566	1,158,790
Western Area	117,045	195,023	348,237
Total Sierra Leone	1,858,275	2,180,355	3,002,046

The breakdown of population by chiefdom is of greater significance. This is shown in table 2.

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1. Including Kono District total.

2. Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service. Freetown, June 1975. Announcement of Preliminary Statistics of 1974 Census. Only proportions of the total population were given for each province. The total population was announced and from this, estimates have been calculated for each of the provinces.

3. 1963 Census, Volume I, Table 1. Freetown 1965.

4. 1948 Census of the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone. Freetown.

Table 2. Chiefdoms of Kono and their population in order of decreasing population density (1963 Census).

Chiefdom	Population	Square Miles Area	Per Square Mile Density
Kamara	15,723	85	185
Nimikoro	29,063	180	161
Gbense	19,244	150	128
Nimiyema	16,359	170	96
Sando	33,040	378	87
Tankoro	9,950	140	71
Gbane	9,773	150	65
Soa	11,189	175	64
Lei	7,373	180	41
Mafindo	3,623	100	36
Gbane Kando	2,256	65	35
Fiama	5,038	150	34
Gorama Kono	3,953	170	23
Tolli	1,331	85	16
Kono Total	167,915	2,178	77

Fiama chiefdom was initially considered as a diamondiferous chiefdom, but no mining of any importance takes place there and it has no diamond mining settlements. That leaves six diamond mining chiefdoms; the six most densely populated on the above table. Most of Sando is outside the diamond mining area, only the southern section along the Bafi being diamondiferous, although this area contains many large settlements. Southern Tankoro (most of the chiefdom) lies outside the central mining area. The southern section of Nimikoro and the Western section

of Nimiyema also lie outside, but most of these two chiefdoms are inside the diamondiferous area, as is most of Gbense. All of Kamara lies in the central mining area.

These are the six diamond mining chiefdoms of central Kono. In 1963 their combined population of 123,379 amounted to 73.5% of the population of the district. The area of these six chiefdoms, 1,103 square miles, amounts to 50.6% of Kono District. The density of population is 111.9 per square mile in the six chiefdoms but only 41.4 per square mile in the rest of Kono. In terms of population alone these six chiefdoms are dominant.

Migration into Kono District

The laws on migration that were initially formulated by Ravenstein (Ravenstein 1885/89) are relevant to the Kono experience. Of particular importance is the assertion that rapidly growing towns take many migrants from the surrounding area first.

An additional observation might be that most migrants are young and that migration is progressive and dynamic in its effect (Lee 1970). Migration takes place as a response to development and modernisation (Riddell 1970) (Gleave 1975).

Since 1945 most migrations in the world have been internal, particularly from rural to urban areas and from underdeveloped to more developed regions (Kirk 1970). Thus as an area starts to attract migrants, it will generate a greater attraction. Throughout Africa, and particularly in Kono, migrants go to a place to earn cash temporarily or seasonally. They do not fully migrate, but at the same time they are introduced to new ideas and life styles (du Toit 1975). Colonialism, new forms of trans-

port and changed social values all increased individual mobility (Joseph 1972). But the actual reasons that cause any individual to uproot himself and migrate to another place are varied and complex; the push factors rather than the pull (du Toit 1975).

A study of emigrants in rural Sierra Leone showed that the most common reasons for migrating were hardship, lack of local jobs, the dullness of village life, dislike of farming, the attraction of town life and the desire to see places (Mills 1975). The most important destinations for migrants in Sierra Leone are Freetown (Forde and Harvey 1969) and the diamond fields (Joseph 1972).

During the early 1950's the diamond rush in Kono increased relatively slowly. The better transport network of the south resulted in Bo and Kenema Districts growing very fast, whereas Bonthe, Moyamba and Pujehun Districts, served by the same transport network, but without diamonds, lost large numbers of their young men (Shanu-Wilson 1966). However, in the same period Koinadugu and Kailahun also rapidly increased their populations, while later they lost considerable numbers through emigration.

The Kono Road Project of the University of Sierra Leone studied the effect on the population of the areas through which it passed, of the new road that was constructed from Makeni to Koidu. The project showed that areas of closest proximity to the highway had suffered greater population drainage than more isolated parts (Blair, Kono Road 1975). A study of the absentee emigrants from the rural areas of Tonkolili and Kono, through which the new road passed, found that 85% were aged 10 to 30 years, and that they were predominantly male. Of all households

70% had one or more members absent. Generally, larger households, averaging 14 or more persons, produced more emigrants than smaller households. Of the migrants, 64% had moved to towns, 40% of them having gone to Kono and 20% of all migrants had moved to Koidu. Of the variety of reasons given for moving, the possibility of finding diamonds accounted for only part of 35% of the moves. Of the absent emigrants, 80% had never sent home any money, and 80% of all emigrants to the diamond areas were male, most being illiterate and unskilled. A sample of 23 rural villages which were studied in Nimiyema and Nimikoro chiefdoms had suffered a net loss of 18% of their young males in a nine year period. Emigration was the trend in almost all rural settlements. Rural push factors were stronger than the urban pull, and step migration took place from the village to roadside settlement and then on to the town (Mills 1975).

A survey was also carried out, of rural villages in the Sula Mountains of Tonkolili, where population was found to be declining at the rate of 2% a year. In this region there were 88.8 males to every 100 females, whereas in the 10 to 35 years age group there were only 55.8 males to 100 females. Of the emigrants from this area 32% had gone to the Kono diamond mining areas. Of the males who were not farming in the areas to which they had emigrated, 35.2% were digging diamonds. The age/sex distribution of absentees from the Sula mountains also shows that male absentees are generally older than the female migrants (Blair, migration, 1975).

In 1948 the ratio of males to females in Kono District was 96 males to 100 females (1948 Census). By 1963 this had changed to 117 males to 100 females (1963 Census). See figure 10 showing

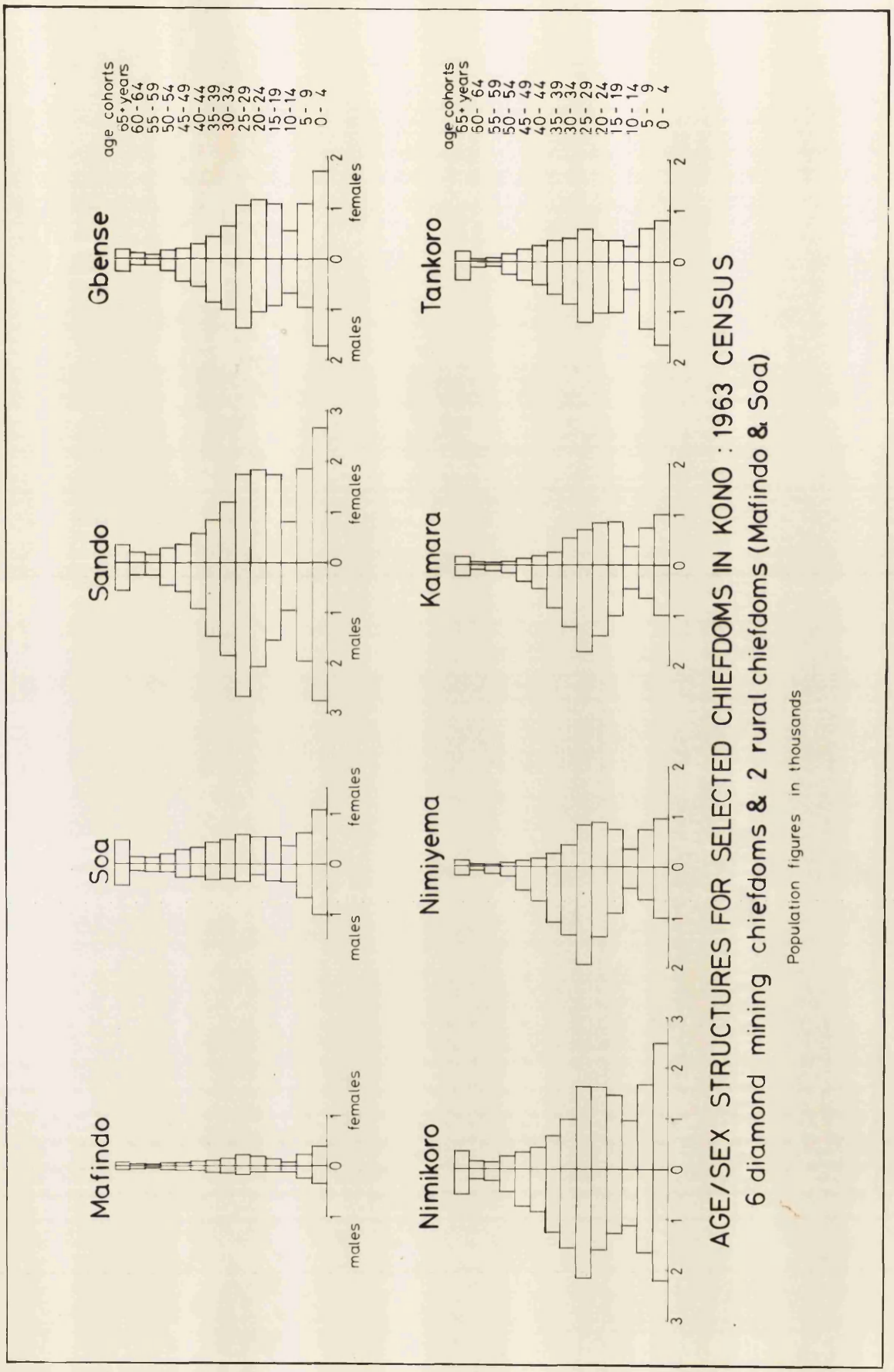

Figure 10. Age/sex structures for eight selected chiefdoms in Kono in 1963

age/sex structures for eight selected chiefdoms in Kono in 1963.[5] The six diamond chiefdoms show strong imbalances with an excess of males over females, especially in the 15 to 39 years age group. The age/sex pyramids also show a considerable 'bulging out' in the numbers of adults (over 15 years) indicating that young women as well as young men have migrated into the diamond chiefdoms. This bulging out on the age/sex pyramids of the young adults age group, and in particular an excess of males over females, is indicative of immigration. The Western Area and Bo, Kenema and Kono Districts all have excesses of males. In Kono the imbalance occurs in the six diamond chiefdoms, in the towns of Koidu/New Sembehun, Yengema, Jaiama Nimikoro and Tumbodu, and especially in Jaiama Sewafe, Yomadu, Peyima and Sukudu where there were approximately two males to every female (Clarke, S.L.G.A. 1965).

Figure 10 showing age/sex structures also includes age/sex pyramids for Mafindo and Soa chiefdoms in eastern Kono. These two are typical of areas of emigration. Mafindo and Soa have age/sex pyramids that resemble those of Moyamba, Tonkolili, Bonthe, Bombali, Port Loko, Pujehun, Kailahun, Kambia and Koinadugu districts; all areas of emigration. This tendency has accelerated since 1963, as the preliminary figures of the 1974 census indicate that the Eastern Province and Western Area have increased their proportions of the country's population.

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5. Age/sex pyramids in figure 10 were compiled from the 1963 Census, Volume I, Table 10.

In Nimiyema chiefdom 78% of all the settlements had more males than females in 1963. Of the other diamond mining chiefdoms the proportion of settlements having an excess of males was Sando 71%, Nimikoro 70%, Kamara 69%, Gbense 63% and Tankoro 51%.[6] Apart from the indication of immigration shown by the age/sex pyramids, the numbers of non-Kono in the population also suggested the extent of immigration from other districts and other countries.

Ethnic and Occupational Diversification in Kono

In 1931 91.2% of the population of Kono District was Kono by tribe with Kissi accounting for 5.1%, Mandingo 1.7% and Mende 1.5% (1931 Census). By 1963 the influx of other ethnic groups from outside the district had greatly reduced the proportion of Kono.[7]

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6. Detailed 1963 Census statistics were compiled from computer line print-outs by courtesy of the Kono Road Project, Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone.

7. In the absence of statistics from the 1974 Census (still unpublished by 1978) information about the population of Kono is cited from the 1963 Census. While total numbers have since greatly increased, the trends in population, ethnic and occupational change, can be observed from the 1963 Census. The 1975 case studies, of chapters 5 to 7, show the continuation and consolidation of these same trends of change.

Table 3. Main ethnic groups of Kono in order of size in 1963.

Tribe	Number	Percentage	Tribe	Number	Percentage
Kono	97,070	57.8	Susu	2,307	1.4
Mandingo	11,787	7.0	Others	2,199	1.3
Kissi	10,814	6.4	Yalunka	1,300	0.8
Koranko	10,422	6.2	Loko	648	0.4
Temne	9,623	5.7	Non Sierra Leonean	609	0.4
Mende	8,310	4.9	Sherbro	493	0.3
Limba	6,577	3.9	Creole	364	0.2
Fula	5,392	3.2	Total	167,915	100.0

In 1963 the Kono were the dominant people in the district. By 1970 the Kono still dominated but they were only half the population of the whole district by then (Gervis 1970). The difference between the 6 mining chiefdoms and the rest of Kono is much more striking.

Table 4. Kono and Other Indigenes in each Chiefdom in 1963.

Chiefdom	Total Population	Number Indigenous to Kono	Percentage
Nimiyema	16,359	4,116	25.2
Gbense	19,244	8,938	46.4
Kamara	15,723	7,462	47.5
Nimikoro	29,063	15,775	54.3
Sando	33,040	20,557	62.2
Tankoro	9,950	6,376	64.1
Gorama Kono	3,953	3,346	84.6
Gbane	9,773	8,356	85.5
Fiama	5,038	4,585	90.2
Tolli*	1,331	1,218	91.5
Lei*	7,373	6,827	92.6
Soa	11,189	10,422	93.1
Mafindo*	3,623	3,404	93.9
Gbane Kando*	2,256	2,158	95.7
Total	167,915	103,540	61.7

*The four chiefdoms of Lei, Gbane Kando, Mafindo and Tolli all contain large populations of Kissi , who are indigenous to those chiefdoms. Thus the figures for those chiefdoms include both Kono and Kissi. Gorama Kono also contains some indigenous Mende who have not been included in Table 4. Other indigenous people, including some Kissi, Mandingo and Mende in other chiefdoms have not been included as their numbers are small and do not affect the overall pattern whereby people indigenous to Kono are dominant in the rural chiefdoms and strangers are dominant in the six mining chiefdoms.

The 1963 Census did not give a breakdown of non-Sierra Leoneans in Kono District, but it did give a breakdown of other nationalities for the whole of Eastern Province. These are shown in order of importance in Table 5.

Table 5. Non-Sierra Leoneans in Eastern Province in 1963

Total Population of Eastern Province	545,579
Non-Sierra Leoneans in Eastern Province	19,553
Percentage of non-Sierra Leoneans in Province	3.6%

Country of Nationality	Number of People	% of Non-Sierra Leoneans
Guinea	10,383	53.1
Liberia	3,189	16.3
Nigeria	2,125	10.9
Gambia	1,526	7.8
Lebanon and Syria		4.5
Other African countries	744	3.8
European and American	423	2.2
Other non-Africans	149	0.8
Ghana	131	0.7
Total non-Sierra Leoneans	19,553	100.0

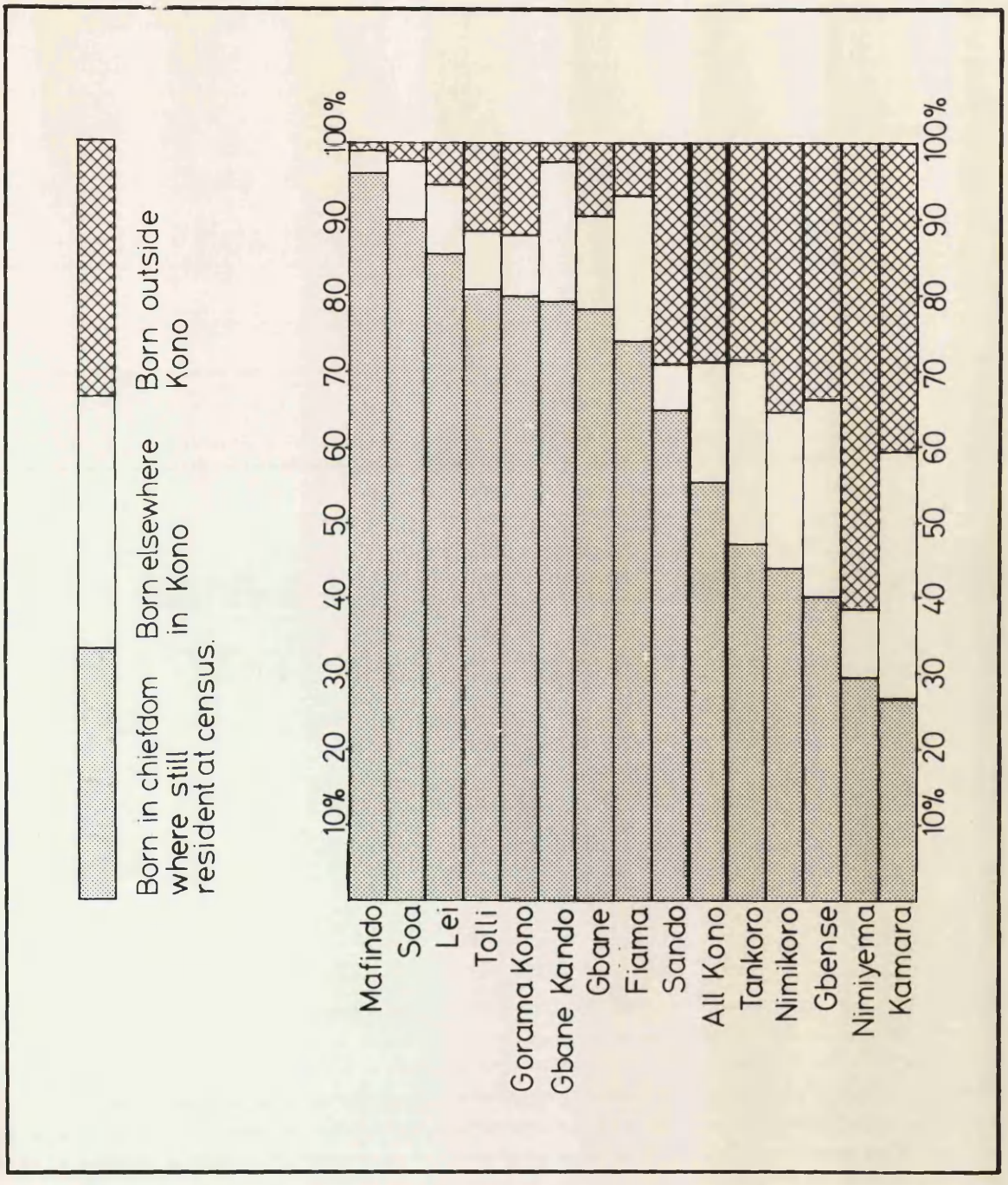

Figure 11. Birthplace of Sierra Leonean population of Kono 1963

Non-Sierra Leoneans only amounted to 3.6% of the population of Eastern Province but it is most likely that avoidance of the census would have been higher among foreign illicit diamond miners than among ordinary Sierra Leoneans. Many Guineans and Gambians are Fula and Mandingo, and many Kissi are Guinean or Liberian, so that people of these groups could easily claim to be Sierra Leonean.

The birthplace of Sierra Leoneans resident in Kono, is shown as a graph in figure 11. As many Kono had migrated from the rural areas to the mining chiefdoms, as well as the non-Kono immigrants, this graph gives a clearer illustration of the static and immigrant proportions of the populations in each chiefdom. People who were still living in the same chiefdom in which they were born, were dominant in all the non-diamond mining chiefdoms and in Sando, which is a largely agricultural chiefdom. The other five central diamond mining chiefdoms had the smallest proportion of static population and the highest proportions of immigrants.

Table 6. Occupation Structures in 1963

Occupation	Sierra Leone	Kono	Kenema	Koinadugu
Farming, Hunting Fishing etc.	77.0	66.0	65.5	91.7
Sales Workers	5.2	6.8	5.5	2.9
Transport etc.	1.5	1.5	1.1	0.3
Craftsmen and Labourers	7.7	8.3	8.0	3.8
Service and Entertainment	1.6	2.1	1.0	0.4
Managerial and Administrative	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Professional etc.	1.2	1.2	0.8	0.6
Clerical	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.1
Mining and Quarrying	4.7	13.5	17.6	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Both Kono and Kenema Districts had proportions of agricultural workers that were below the national average, whereas Koinadugu, the least developed district in Sierra Leone, had a very high proportion of its working population engaged in agriculture. Similarly mining, negligible in Koinadugu, was highest in Kono and Kenema, where trade, craft and labouring occupations, in responding to the increased supply of money, were also above the national average. The structure of occupations in the provincial districts of Sierra Leone fell between the extremes of Koinadugu and Kono/Kenema districts.

Within Kono District, the 1963 Census showed that the six central diamond mining chiefdoms had changed and diversified most.[8] The next section of this chapter goes on to examine the growth of population and changes in its distribution over a 20 year period of the diamond era, within central Kono.

Population Increase in Central Kono during the Diamond Era

It is possible to assess the growth of population within any part of Sierra Leone by studying the figures of chiefdom tax payment. Since the early days of colonial rule in Sierra Leone, a hut tax has had to be paid by each householder or compound head. The money raised by this means went towards financing the Native Administration (N.A.) system, providing the Paramount Chief and the chiefdom itself with a regular income. Once individual mobility became widespread and in particular, the migration that was

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8. The information in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 and figure 10 was derived from the 1963 Census, Volume II, Tables 2, 3, 4 and 6 and from Volume III, Table 7.

associated with the diamond rush, control over strangers and the finance of chiefdom development became more complex. A new taxation system was introduced in 1955, whereby all males over the age of 21 years had to pay an annual tax of twenty-five shillings (Parsons 1964). A receipt was issued for the payment of this tax, which in 1967 had risen to three leones. It is illegal not to possess a tax receipt, and travel without a receipt during the main tax collection period of December to February is extremely difficult. However, it is still sometimes the practice in small rural villages to pay a hut tax in the name of the householder, so that anyone else without a tax receipt, who has to travel, uses the householder's receipt. Even this practice is dying out, as a larger number of men in a village gives more status and political weight in the section or chiefdom, to the village headman or chief. Diamond licensees or illicit mining arrangement masters usually pay the chiefdom tax for each of their tributors or diggers.

The method of tax collection ensures that most men eligible for tax payment do in fact pay. Estimates of the population liable to taxation are made each year by the chiefdom N.A. for each settlement in the chiefdom. These are potentially very accurate as both the indigenous population and most strangers should be known to all local headmen, chiefs, section chiefs, or chiefdom officials, through whom payment is made. Tax payment is then reinforced by road barriers and police raids. A man who refuses to pay the tax may get away with paying a small bribe each time, but this involves great inconvenience, imprisonment on some occasions,

and for non-Kono, the danger of expulsion from the area. The taxation system is not very selective, and the age at which a young man may have to pay tax can be anything above 15 years, depending on his apparent maturity, but excluding students. In most chiefdoms the age for payment of tax is about 18 years.

An illicit miner or illegal immigrant is usually tolerated and allowed to settle in a chiefdom as long as he has the support of the local village and section chiefs. He is not then likely to be discovered and expelled, even if he does not possess a residential permit, as long as he has paid the chiefdom tax. Arrest for non-payment of tax is likely to lead to further complications if the individual does not possess a permit to reside in Kono. It is thus more convenient for most people to pay the tax rather than to avoid paying it. In Kamara chiefdom illicit and licensed diamond miners have been used as tax collectors. In bad years when diamonds are scarce there is a greater tendency for people to avoid paying tax than in good years when a diamond boom occurs.[9] This will exaggerate the peaks of growth and decline.

It is estimated by chiefdom officials in central Kono that at least 60% of all adult males pay tax. Minikin (Minikin 1971) quotes higher proportions; stating that in 1960 71% of taxpayers in the diamond chiefdoms paid taxes, while in 1956 76% paid and in 1959 74%.

The numbers of men who paid tax in every village of each chiefdom are recorded each year in the Chiefdom and District

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9. Information on chiefdom tax, collection and payment, supplied by chiefdom clerks of Nimikoro, Kamara and Gbense.

files. Unfortunately some files and records of some of the years have been lost or possibly destroyed, so that a full list of taxpaying population is not available for every year between 1956 and 1976. But enough sets of figures are available to indicate the trends and allow some tentative estimates to be made.[10] The addition of men who did not pay tax plus the likely numbers of women and children allows some estimate to be made of the total populations of all the settlements in central Kono. To make such estimates involves a number of assumptions and cannot he completely accurate. In the case studies of mining settlements (Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this study) a more detailed and accurate analysis has been made of the taxpaying population. At this stage, the macro level, it is more useful and interesting to examine the trends of the actual taxpaying population, rather than to place too much emphasis on estimates of total populations.

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10. Tax payment files for Sando chiefdom could not be found, either at Kono District Office, or at Sando N.A. office in Kayima, for the years 1956 to 1966 and 1971 to 1973. Only 2 of its 9 sections are diamondiferous. Consequently, taxpaying populations have only been studied for Nimikoro, Nimiyema, Kamara, Gbense and Tankoro chiefdoms. Figures for Nimiyema: 1957 to 1968 by courtesy of Kono Road Project, University of Sierra Leone, 1969 to 1972, 1976 and 1977 by courtesy of N.A. office Jaiama Sewafe.
Figures for Tankoro: 1975 courtesy of N.A. Tankoro and all other years courtesy of District Office, Sefadu, File NA/414/15.
Figures for Kamara: 1958, 1961, 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1973 District Office, Sefadu, File NA/407/15/1 and 2, 1964, 1965, 1967, 1972 and 1974 N.A. Office, Tumbodu, File KCA/407/8.
Figures for Gbense: 1957 to 1961, 1963, 1964 and 1974 District Office, Sefadu and 1967 to 1970, 1972 to 1975 N.A. Office, Koidu. Figures for Nimikoro: 1956, 1962, 1971, 1972 by courtesy of Kono Road Project, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1974 N.A. Office, Jaiama Nimikoro.

Estimates of the total population in central Kono, the five chiefdoms of Nimiyema, Nimikoro, Kamara, Gbense and Tankoro, have been made for the years 1958, 1963 and 1974. In 1958 there were 17,132 taxpayers, in 1963 there were 28,469 and in 1974 there were 75,653 taxpayers. The growth rate of this sector of the population, over the period 1958 to 1974 was 442% or an average of 27.6% a year. Assuming that these figures are for the numbers of males over 15 years who paid tax, and that approximately 70% paid tax in those years, one can add three sevenths of the original population to give the possible number of adult males. Obviously a number of estimates can be made but 70% is a reasonable figure.[11] Increasing the original taxpaying populations by this fraction the estimates for adult males are as follows:

Males over 15 years; estimate for 1958	24,474
Males over 15 years; estimate for 1963	40,670
Males over 15 years; estimate for 1974	108,076

Assuming that this represents all adult males, the proportions of women and children must then be added to the numbers of men. Household surveys carried out in 1975[12] established percentages of adult males to women and children, of 28% in rural areas, 34%

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11. Only in Gbense chiefdom were there taxpayer figures available for 1963, which could be correlated with census figures. The number of males in Gbense chiefdom was decreased by the proportion of males under 15 years of age and then divided into the number of taxpayers. Thus census figures and taxpayer figures were correlated for 53 settlements in the chiefdom. 24 of these settlements showed a percentage of between 60% and 100% of the men paying tax. The average percentage of men paying tax in all 53 settlements was 76.9%.

12. Household surveys of 7 case study towns and rural villages carried out as part of this research, are explained in the next chapter.

in Koidu and 36% in the other diamond mining settlements. A ratio of 1 man to 2 women and children is thus on the conservative side, but has been used to increase the 1974 estimate of adult males to arrive at an estimate of total population. The 1963 Census allows a more accurate sex ratio to be calculated. For all five central chiefdoms 41% of the population comprised males over 15 years and so the estimates for 1958 and 1963 have been increased accordingly (i.e. multiplied by 100 over 41). Thus the total population estimates for the five chiefdoms are as follows :

Total population estimate in 1958	59,692
Total population estimate in 1963	99,194
Total population estimate in 1974	324,228

Total population of the same five chiefdoms in the 1963 Census was 90,339. The estimate for that year is 10% higher than the Census figure. Undercounting was held to be one of the biggest faults in the 1963 Census.

Many other estimates could be made, assuming higher or lower rates of tax payment and greater or lower proportions of adult males to females and children; but even if the 1974 population were 20% lower than this estimate it would still be over a quarter of a million. Of more significance is the rate of increase and trends in population shown by the actual numbers of taxpayers.

Table 7. Numbers of settlements in the diamondiferous sections of Nimiyema, Nimikoro, Kamara, Gbense and Tankoro.

Year	Nimiyema	Nimikoro	Kamara	Gbense	Tankoro
1956		100			
1957					
1958			38	59	40
1959	45				
1960	48			62	46
1961	46		41	57	
1962	47	100			49
1963	48			59	
1964	49		48	59	48
1965	50	101	51		48
1966	51				
1967	52	112	53		
1968	52			75	47
1969	54	109	60		
1970	53		64	69	46
1971	59	117	72		
1972	61	113	71	75	50
1973			69		
1974		117	73	81	
1975				86	49
1976	68				
1977	66				

In the late 1950's there were 282 villages and towns in the five mining chiefdoms. By the mid 1970's there were 393 settlements, a growth rate of 139% over the period, and an average increase of 5 to 6 settlements a year.

It is interesting to compare the figures for the tax-paying population with the numbers of residential permits issued to non-Kono .

Residential permits are listed in Table 8 and Taxpaying populations in Table 9.

Table 8. Residential Permits issued to non-Kono (D.O., Sefadu)

Chiefdom	1970/71	1974
Tankoro	15,748	10,064
Gbense	19,854	10,997
Nimiyema	No figure	1,843
Nimikoro	8,148	2,414
Kamara	2,107	1,369
Lebanese - all Kono	216	270

Non-Kono in Koidu (Gbense and Tankoro Chiefdoms) where police and security checks are more frequent, are more likely to obtain residential permits than non-Kono elsewhere. It is interesting to compare permit and tax-paying figures in Gbense and Tankoro and to speculate how much higher the actual population might have been.

Table 9. Taxpaying population in Nimiyema, Nimikoro, Kamara, Gbense and Tankoro.

Year	Nimiyema	Nimikoro	Kamara	Gbense	Tankoro
1954	996	5,052	1,335	1,675	1,353
1956	4,514	6,787	9,574	3,078	1,692
1957					
1958			2,845	3,330	1,283
1959	2,887				
1960	4,143			4,420	2,181
1961	6,149		5,802	5,736	
1962	6,530	7,362			5,089
1963	6,693			5,657	
1964	6,330		5,493	13,950	3,630
1965	8,295	8,203	7,201		3,994
1966	9,383				
1967	9,640	9,213	6,469		
1968				11,401	6,609
1969	11,719	13,167	8,174		
1970	8,011		9,666	13,355	8,472
1971	9,856	18,277	9,656		
1972	9,221	19,001	11,755	14,388	11,130
1973			12,066		
1974	10,061	23,891	11,121	18,146	
1975				18,431	12,434
1976	8,487				
1977	8,892				

Also see figure 12 which shows this table in graph form.

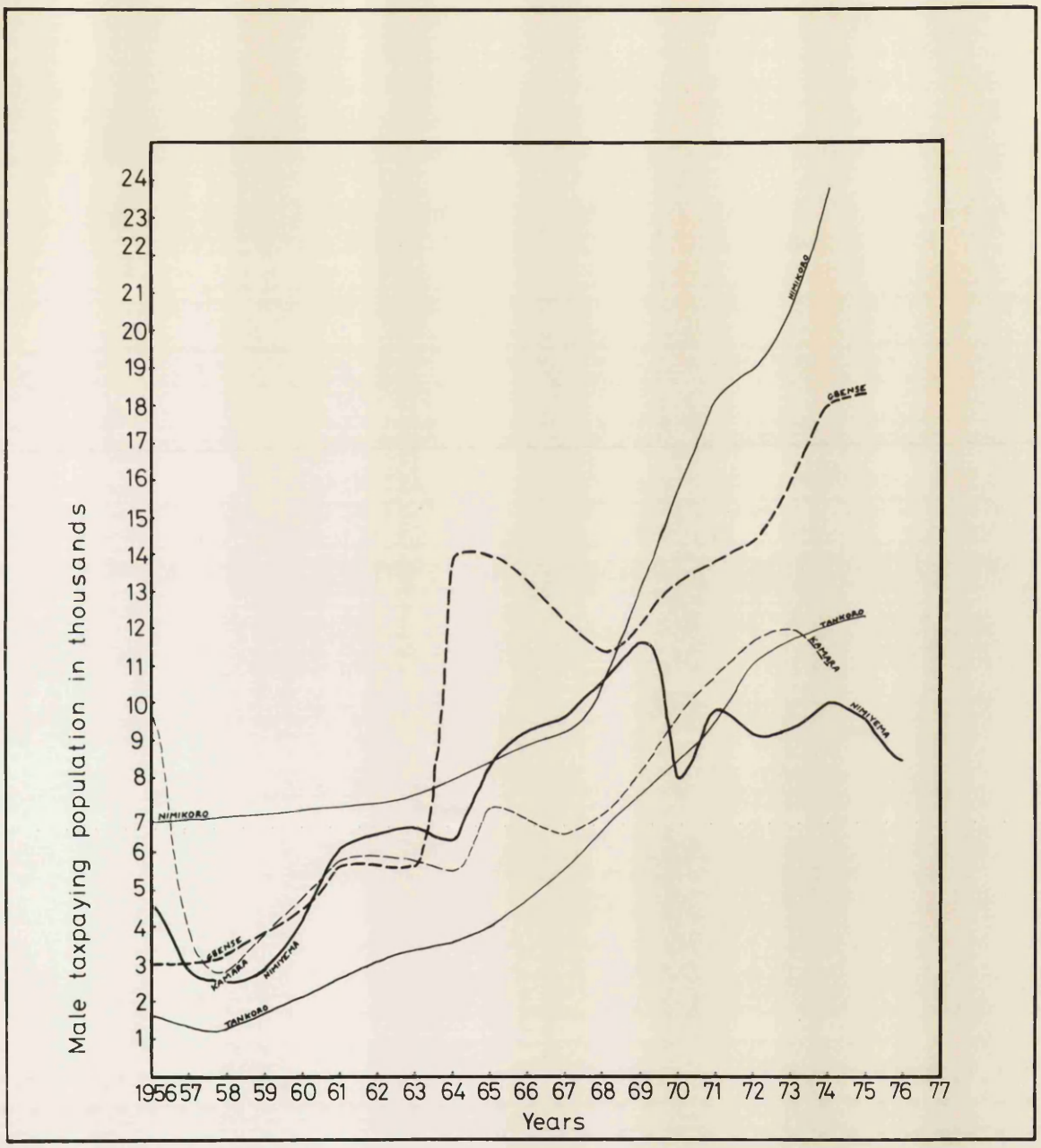

Figure 12. Population increase in central Kono 1956-1976

A peak of population was reached in 1956, after which a decline occurred in the late 1950's. At this time with the establishment of the A.D.M.S. many men went down to the south where licensed mining was more widespread. Kamara had a very high and dense population, as Peyima and Sukudu were at the peak of their wealth in 1956. Nimikoro, containing most of the S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. settlements, having a good road network and being a very large chiefdom, has absorbed much internal migration between its towns, and has grown steadily throughout the diamond era. The growth probably levelled off after 1964. Gbense and Tankoro were very much influenced by the experience of Koidu, which grew very rapidly in the early 1960's and early 1970's. Growth has been more sustained in these three chiefdoms than in Nimiyema and Kamara, because of the existence of large urban settlements with longer term attractions to migrants. Kamara and Nimiyema were much more susceptible to short term booms and slumps.

A few immediate conclusions can be drawn from this examination of chiefdom tax payment figures. Although these figures only indicate the numbers of adult males, this sector of the population is the most crucial in terms of migration and the economic strength of the area. Also a ratio of non-taxpayers and women and children can be applied to the figures to give an estimate of the total population. The adult male population, although fluctuating throughout the diamond area, has grown absolutely, to a level far in excess of that during the early diamond period.

The Hierarchy of Settlements in Central Kono

The description of traditional Kono settlements by Parsons (Parsons 1964) in the 1930's also accords with the definitions of settlements on the map[13] of Kono during the same period. There were two settlement types referred to in pre-diamond era Kono. Kongo, or Kor, is a small village or hamlet, of two to ten houses. The word Kongo or Kor is often employed as a suffix to the village name. This type of settlement may have a village headman, but does not warrant a chief. It is usually a single family settlement. The word Du is also employed as a suffix to the village name, indicating a larger extended family or multi-family settlement. This size of village may have a court, a chief and is more likely to contain some non-Kono strangers, often as labourers or traders etc.

Each chiefdom is divided into sections, for which there is a Section Chief, whose village is larger, multi-family and consisting of twenty to fifty houses. The largest settlement in the chiefdom was, and still often is, the Paramount Chief's 'town', which may have had up to three hundred houses, sometimes divided into town sections with their own Section Chiefs. The Paramount Chief's town was a centre for politics, law, religion and ceremony in the chiefdom. This was the hierarchy of settlements in Kono, prior to the diamond era.

The Military Report of 1933 estimates a population of six persons per rural building, from which Harvey (Harvey 1966) estimates that there were eight centres of more than 1,000 people

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13. One inch to one mile maps; Kayima and Sefadu sheets. Drawn and printed at Gold Coast Survey Headquarters, Accra 1941. (The survey of Kono was dated 1930.)

in Kono in 1927. The 1930 maps in allotting symbols to larger settlements, indicate that no place in Kono had over 1,000 people at that time. It is more feasible that some of the Paramount Chief's towns had grown to around 1,000 population, but were not much above that level. It is possible that prior to the colonial period towns may have been larger, as defensive settlements during the war days. The early colonial period witnessed a dispersal of the population into smaller farming villages, often single family Kor, as peace allowed more smaller units to survive.

By 1930 external influences had introduced a new element into the simple hierarchy that already existed. The District Office had been established at Sefadu as an administrative centre for the whole district, although at that time it was a very small settlement and not overly influential as a central place. The first road had also been extended to Sefadu, linking Kono to the railway line at Segbwema. This introduced a new growth node. Gandorhun, south of Sefadu, on the road, developed as an important trade and transport centre during this period, although it has since declined considerably. Missionaries had entered, mainly from the south, establishing primary schools and medical facilities in a few chiefdom headquarters settlements, thus giving these places a greater impetus for growth.

Towns in 1890 were Kayima, Mansundu and Yaradu in Sando chiefdom, Sengi Sengi in Lei chiefdom, Waima, Kainkordu and Yaradu in Soa chiefdom, Sawolla, Lewuma, Gandorhun and Tekuyema in Gbane chiefdom, and Gondama and Kangama in Nimi, all of which were outside the central area. In central Kono the only large

settlements were Jaiama Nimikoro and Yaradu and Sefadu in Gbense chiefdom (Minikin 1971). There was lasting peace after the Kissi War of 1905 and by 1910 the large centres were Kayima with 114 houses, Jaiama Nimikoro with 255 houses, Kangama with 131 houses and Jaiama Sewafe with 180 houses (Harvey 1966). Places with missions and schools by 1937 were Jaiama Nimikoro, Kangama, Kayima, Kainkordu, Tumbodu, Gandorhun, Sefadu, Jaiama Sewafe, Sandaru, Kondewakor, Saiama, Koardu, Kamiendo and Yengema (Parsons 1964). The 1963 Census listed 23 settlements of more than 1,000 people, nominally towns, in Kono. Nineteen of these settlements were in the central diamond mining area.

Harvey (1966) asserts that urbanization in Sierra Leone is very recent and is the result of the colonial era, cash crops, modern forms of transport, mining and a new form of centralised administration. Diamond mining expanded and initiated urbanisation. Gamble (Gamble 1964) also recognises mines as initiators of urbanisation. In Kono this new impetus towards urbanisation heightened the hierarchy of settlements and concentrated the largest places into the centre of Kono.

The numbers of settlements in the five central mining chiefdoms have already been noted, showing an increase from 282 in the late 1950's to 393 by the mid 1970's. In the actual diamondiferous area the number of settlements is different. The diamond mining area includes the southern part of Sando chiefdom, and excludes some peripheral parts of Nimiyema, Nimikoro, Tankoro and Gbense chiefdoms. Maps of central Kono, showing the whole of the central diamond mining area, were compiled for 1930, 1960[14] -

14. 1960 map was prepared from 1:50,000 maps of Sierra Leone; Prepared and Published by Directorate of Overseas Surveys, London, Series (D.O.S.419) G742 sheets 46, 47, 48, 57, 58 and 59.

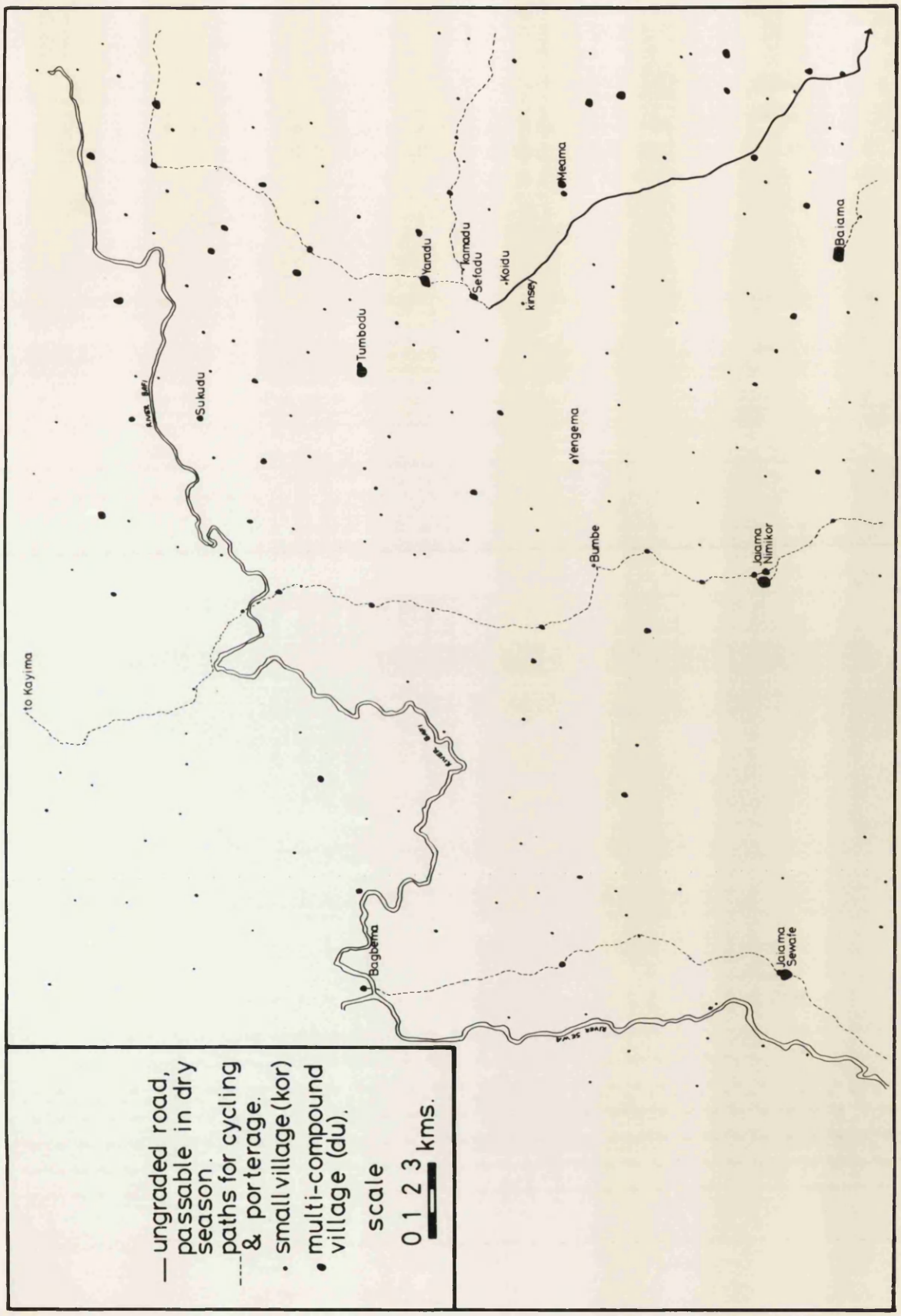

Figure 13. Central Kono 1930

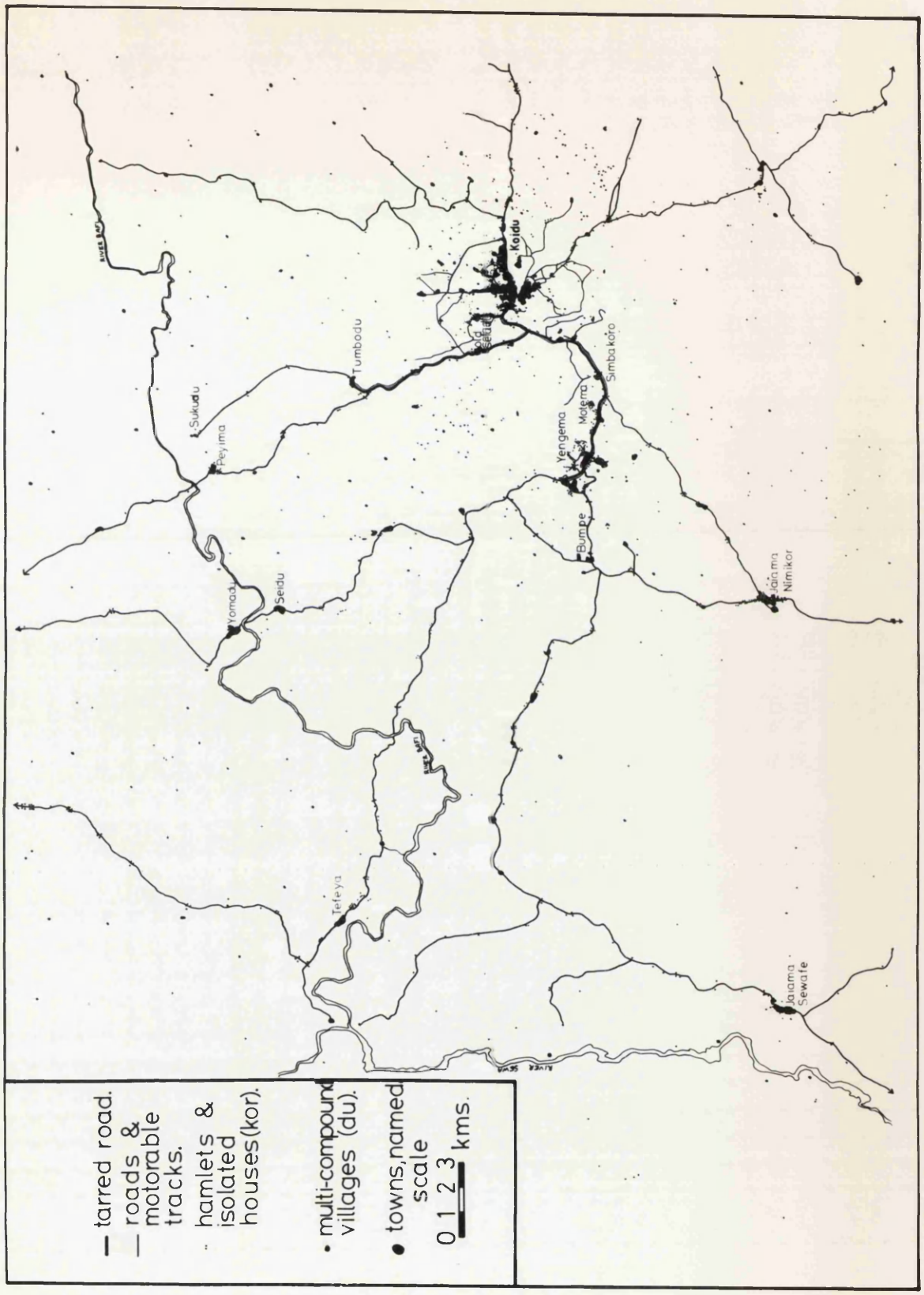

Figure 14. Central Kono 1960

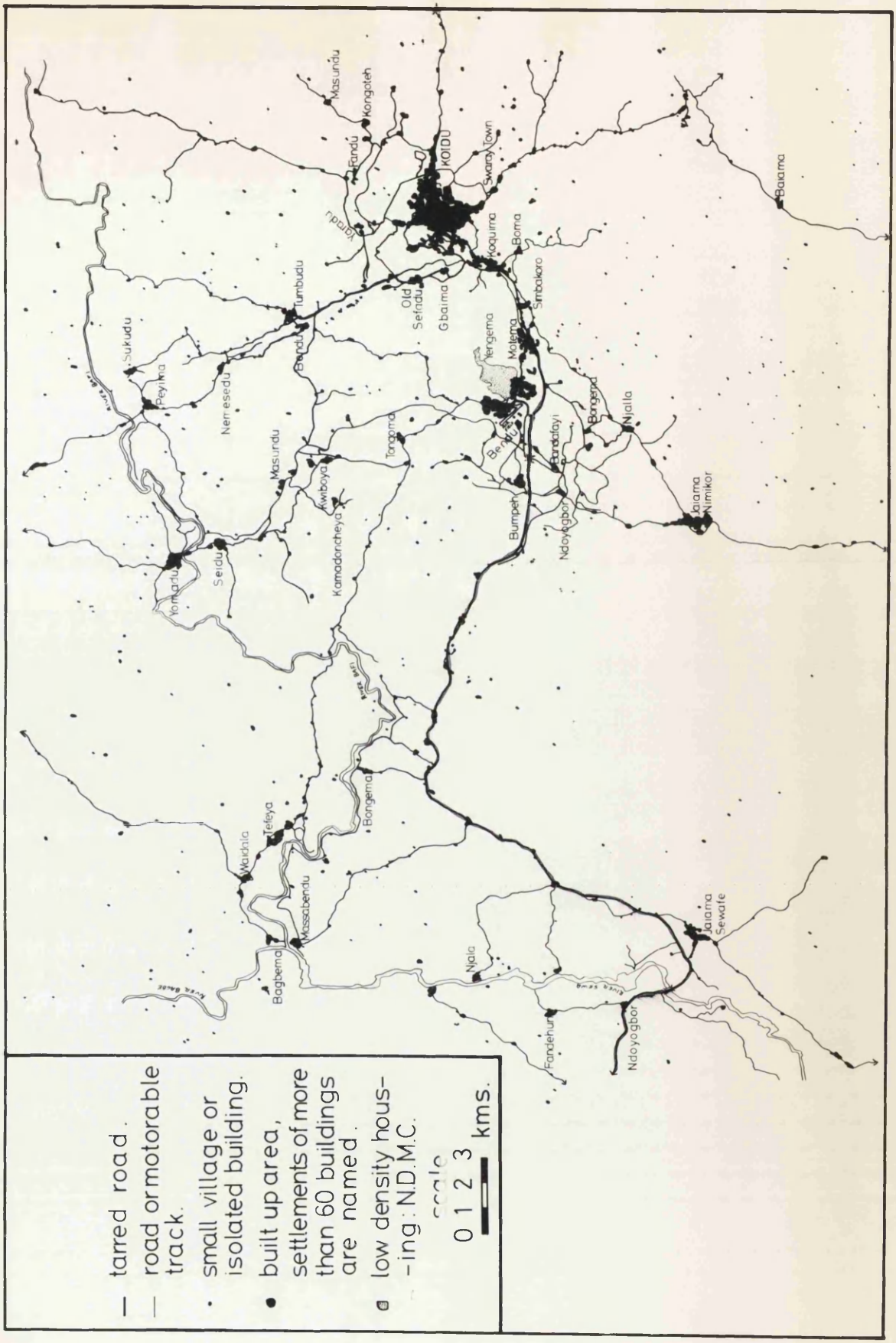

Figure 15. Central Kono 1976

and 1976,[15] (see figures 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17). The S.L.S.T./ N.D.M.C. lease boundary was superimposed on the maps, and extended to include all A.D.M.S. blocks. The approximate boundary has then been extended a few more miles to include all the mining settlements which are just outside the diamondiferous area. The diamond mining area of central Kono, thus defined, is approximately 383 square miles.

Table 10. Numbers of Settlements in the Central Kono Diamond Mining Area in 1930, 1960 and 1976

	1930		1960		1976	
Diamondiferous Area in Sq. Miles	383		383		383	
Rank of Settlement	No. of Settlements	Sq.Miles per 1 Settlement	No. of Settlements	Sq.Miles per 1 Settlement	No. of Settlements	Sq.Miles per 1 Settlement
1	-		-		2	191.5
2	-		5	76.6	8	47.9
3	4	95.7	6	63.8	13	29.5
4	6	63.8	14	27.4	27	14.2
5	22	17.4	25	15.3	94	4.1
6 & 7	119	3.2	264	1.4	285	1.3
Total	151	2.5	314	1.2	429	0.9

The numbers of settlements are listed by rank from 1 to 7 and the average number of square miles to each rank of settlement is

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15. 1976 map was prepared from 1:70,000 infra red air photographs, taken in January 1976. Tracings made by courtesy of Sierra Leone Minister of Lands and Mines and assembled as a mosaic. Original and only copies of 1976 air photographs are lodged with the Land Resources Unit of the Sierra Leone Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Freetown.

shown. The number of square miles to each higher ranked settlement, especially Koidu, is not entirely accurate, as this shows the area within central Kono only. The larger towns provide functions and services for people in other parts of Kono and even act as central places for some people outside the district. However this table does not attempt to assess the sphere of influence of any rank of settlement as spheres of influence differ widely for different functions and services. Rather, Table 10 shows the density of settlement in central Kono. The pattern is clearly one of increasing numbers and density, at all size levels. The density in 1930 of one settlement to 2.5 square miles had increased by 1976 to one settlement to every 0.9 square miles.

A classification of different sizes of settlement is useful in examining the growth of towns and in establishing the development of a hierarchy of different sizes of settlements. On a world scale Koidu must rank as a fairly low order town while all other settlements with populations of less than 5,000 are little more than large villages. In terms of population size, however, Koidu is the second largest town in Sierra Leone. Rather than adopt a system of settlement ranking that relates to an external standard, the settlements of central Kono have been classified into 7 size groups from the largest town, Koidu, at number 1, to the smallest village size at number 7. The advantage of this classification is that it allows a division between different village and small town sizes. This same classification could be employed in any other part of Sierra Leone, with only the addition of Freetown, as a higher ranking

city than Koidu. Seven rank groups are enough to discern different levels of settlement size, while a larger group would not be warranted by the relatively small size of Sierra Leonean settlements.

Groups 1, 2, 3 and 4 are ranked largely by function, with attention paid to the population size. Groups 5, 6 and 7 are ranked by population size alone. Without precise details of function and population size, the ranking of settlements in 1930 is less accurate than the later ranking. Places ranked 3 and 4 in 1930 are classified according to the indication of size on the 1930 survey map, and the known functions of these settlements at that time. Rank 3 and 4 settlements in 1930 may thus be smaller than the same ranks in 1960 and 1976. Ranks 6 and 7 are villages. On the 1930 map rank 7 has been applied to those settlements defined as very small; less than five huts. Rank 6 has been applied to places defined as slightly larger settlements, but usually still one family. Thus both rank sizes are the kind of settlement named Kongo or Kor in Kono. This number of buildings was used in selecting settlement sizes from the 1960 maps as well as from the 1976 air photographs.

In order to understand the movements and changes that have been taking place in the settlements of central Kono during the latter years of the diamond era, all the settlements, having been ranked according to their size were then classified as to whether they were declining, expanding or remaining fairly stable, in terms of the taxpaying male population.

Table 11. Change in Taxpaying populations of Diamondiferous Chiefdoms 1969 to 1976.

Chiefdom	Total	Total Decline/ Increase	Percentage Decline/ Increase	Large - Settlement Ranking - Small						
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tankoro Decline	98	41	42%			1		2	4	34
Tankoro Increase		46	47%	1	1	2	5	7	21	9
Gbense Decline	96	36	37.5%				3	2	15	16
Gbense Increase		58	60%	1		1	8	18	15	15
Kamara Decline	80	41	51%				3	15	14	9
Kamara Increase		37	46%		2	2		15	13	5
Nimikoro Decline	154	64	42%		1	1	2	8	8	44
Nimikoro Increase		82	53%	1	4	2	5	22	29	19
Nimiyema Decrease	88	36	41%		1	1	3	6	9	16
Nimiyema Increase		49	56%			1		18	13	17
Total Decline	516	218	42.2%		2	3	11	33	50	119
% Decline					0.4%	0.6%	2%	6%	10%	23%
Total Increase		272	52.7%	3	7	8	18	80	91	65
% Increase				0.6%	1.4%	1.6%	3.5%	15.5%	18%	13%

The total number of settlements in the first column include all settlements listed in the tax return files. Some of these had ceased to exist, or ceased to pay tax, while new villages had been founded. For this reason the total number of settlements per chiefdom is higher than the number for any single year, as listed in Table 7. A village that has ceased to exist has been counted as in decline, while new settlements that have been founded since 1969 have been counted as expanding. Because of the 1969/70 diamond rush a number of settlements show sharp increases in population between 1970 and 1972. Therefore the comparison has been made between the 1969 or 1970 taxpayer totals and the last figure to be recorded between 1974 and 1977.

Of particular significance are settlements ranked 1 to 5. 1, 2 and 3 are towns, while 4 is a semi-urban large village and 5 a large village. In Kamara there has been an overall decline with more settlements losing population than gaining. Kamara had the greatest number of higher ranked settlements that had declined, although the number of larger settlements which had increased in size was also high. In Nimiyema there had been the largest decline in the populations of towns ranked 1 to 4, although there had been a far greater proportional increase in very small villages than in other chiefdoms. Perhaps in Nimiyema chiefdom some of the urbanised diamond diggers really have taken the President's advice and gone back to the land. But generally the situation is the reverse, as people have moved on to larger settlements once the diamonds started to run out. In particular there is evidence that they have moved from the more

remote, peripheral mining villages, to the larger towns of central Kono, mainly the Yengema/Koidu urban area, which is in Nimikoro, Gbense and Tankoro chiefdoms. For both Nimiyema and Kamara the percentage of higher ranked settlements that have declined is considerably greater than in the other three chiefdoms; 23% in Kamara, 12% in Nimiyema, 7% in Nimikoro, 5% in Gbense and 3% in Tankoro, (expressed as percentages of the total number of settlements in each chiefdom).

In the five chiefdoms as a whole, more large settlements increased in population than decreased. Many more medium sized villages, ranked 6, had increased their populations, whereas a high proportion of the smallest villages, ranked 7, had declined in size, or disappeared altogether.

In further support of this assertion that the male population of central Kono is becoming concentrated into larger or higher ranked settlements, the numbers living in each of the seven sizes of settlements have been compared; the late 1950's with the mid-1970's.

Table 12. The percentage of the adult males living in each of the 7 ranks of settlements for Nimiyema, Nimikoro, Kamara, Gbense and Tankoro in the late 1950's and mid-1970's.

Percentage of Taxpayers each decade	"Urban" Ranks 1+2+3+4	Large - Settlement Ranking - Small						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gbense 1950's	63.5		48		16	5	21.5	11
Gbense 1970's	78.5	47		12	19.5	13	6	2
Tankoro 1950's	16.0			8	8	33	26	26
Tankoro 1970's	68.5	23	12	28	17	9	9	2
Nimikoro 1950's	43.1		24	16.5	2	31	11	15
Nimikoro 1970's	66.8	16	28	10	13	24	7	2
Kamara 1950's	66.5			61	5	9	19	6
Kamara 1970's	55.8		25	28	3	32	10	2
Nimiyema 1950's	33.6		34			37	19	10
Nimiyema 1970's	45.5		14	15	17	39.5	12	3
Total 1950's	47.3		25	17	6	23	17	12
Total 1970's	67.7	20	16	17	14	22	8	2

All figures in percentages

While almost all total figures have increased between the 1950's and 1970's, the percentages indicate the change in emphasis; a trend from smaller to larger settlements. Settlements ranked 1, 2, 3 and 4 have been selected as urban and semi-urban indicators, as these range from large villages to towns, having at least 150 taxpayers and possessing at least one urban or central place function, such as a market. The chiefdoms are listed in order of urbanisation, according to the proportion dwelling in higher ranked settlements in the mid 1970's. Only Kamara has experienced an actual decline in the proportion living in larger settlements, although there has been a considerable increase in the proportion living in rank 5, large

villages. Many of these are illicit mining settlements. Table 11 particularly shows the extent to which the proportions of men living in smaller villages ranked 6 and 7, have diminished, from 29% in the 1950's to only 10% in the mid 1970's. As the largest settlements have expanded, and increased their functions between 1956 and 1976, so the ranking has been raised, accounting for the differences between rank 1 and rank 2 settlements in Nimikoro, Gbense and Tankoro chiefdoms. Within these five mining chiefdoms the average adult male population per settlement was 61 during the late 1950's. By the mid 1970's this average population had increased to 190.

The initial ranking of larger settlements in 1976, was done from house counts, made from the aerial photographs. As these house counts include all buildings they are not sufficiently accurate to make estimates of total population. The house counts were made of all large settlements over about 35 to 40 buildings, in central Kono. From this count, the places were put into an order of ranking, then checked for population and function to arrive at the final classification.

Table 13. Numbers of Buildings in the Larger Settlements of Central Kono in 1976.

Rank 1		Rank 4	
Koidu	5,050	Ndoyogbor Nimikoro	102
Yengema	1,370	Bongema Nimikoro	96
Rank 2		Masundu	94
Jaiama Nimikoro	458	Fandu	92
Yomadu	458	Bendu	91
Motema etc.	416	Kwiboya	88
Jaimma Sewafe	388	Gbaima	88
Bumpeh	349	Yaradu	87
Tefeya	340	Konokondu	86
Tumbodu	305	Kamadoncheya	83
Seidu	289	Bendu III	67
Rank 3		Kongoteh	67
Waidala	253	Boma	64
Peyima	217	Masundu	57
Massagbendu	216	Wundidu	55
Old Sefadu	188	Kaidu	54
Njalla Nimikoro	160	Jagbwema Nimikoro	52
Baiama	140	Rank 5	
*Bongema Nimiyema	136	Yigbeda	46
Njala Nimiyema	134	*Futingaya	45
Simbakoro	133	Tesseyima	44
*Ndogboya Nimiyema	133	Tembedu	42
*Fandehun	130	Penduma	41
Tongoma	119	Bandafayi	41
Nemesedu	117	Manjamadu	40
Bagbema	113	Mambodu	40
Sukudu	102	Sagbe	39
		Nyawama	39
		Morigbedu	39
		Masundu	36
		Gondama	36

* Rank of settlement changed according to function

Other large villages with less than 35 to 40 buildings are not listed, but were classified as rank 5 in relation to their own taxpaying populations and those of the 13 rank 5 settlements which are listed. The divisions between ranks 2, 3 and 4 were made according to the functions of the settlements. In rank 3 the three settlements asterisked, Bongema, Ndogboya and Fandehun, in Nimiyema, were all moved down one rank as they possess a minimum of central places functions. Futingaya, listed as rank 5 by settlement size, has two central place functions and was raised to rank 4.

In terms of population, taxpaying figures of less than 25 were used to rank a settlement of rank 7, and between 25 and 60 as rank 6. These two limits were most appropriate, as there were few villages with just under 25 or 60 taxpayers. Many rank 7 settlements had around 10 adult males, while few rank 6 villages had more than 50. The initial difference between ranks 4 and 5 was having above or below 50 buildings. Figures of average house occupany, from the household surveys of diamond mining settlements, the proportion of males to females and children, and the proportion paying tax, suggested an upper limit of 150 adult male taxpayers to a rank 5 settlement, having less than 50 buildings. Both ranks 4 and 5 are multi-family settlements, named Du in Kono. The upper limit for rank 4 was put at 300 adult male taxpayers, but the main difference between ranks 3 and 4 was one of function, although most rank 4 settlements had developed at least one urban or central place function. The population limits for rank 3 are about 250 to 700 adult males, rank 2 over 700 taxpayers, while rank 1 is reserved for settlements of more than 10,000 people. Koidu had more than

this population in 1963, but during the early 1960's it still functioned as separate towns and was at an early stage of urban development, thus warranting its classification in 1960 as a rank 2 settlement.

Rank 3 settlements mainly have two to four urban functions while rank 2 towns have at least five functions each. The central place functions of most rank 4 settlements are restricted to markets, but they may also contain some small shops, tailors and be served by a local taxi service. Some also contain Koran schools. Two of the case study settlements, examined in later chapters, have been selected from rank 4 to give a clearer impression of what this size of place is like. They can be considered semi-urban or a kind of urbanised village, as many are mining settlements with a cash economy and large migrant workforce. Other case studies have been drawn from each of ranks 1, 2 and 3. Settlements in rank 3 are more urbanised, but still resemble large villages. They all have populations of more than 1,000 which is a town in Sierra Leone. Harvey's definition of a town was that it should have more than 1,000 people and at least 2 urban functions.

Table 14A. Rank 1 and 2 Settlements listed by Major Functions in 1975.

	Koidu	Yengema	Jaiama Nimikoro	Jaiama Sewafe	Motema	Tefeya	Yomadu	Seidu	Tumbodu/Bendu	Bumpeh	Boroma/Koquima*
Total	21+	17+	15	13	9	7	7	6	12	7	8
Entertainment	x	x									
Industry	x	x									
Shops	MANY	x	x	x	x		x		x		
Bank	3										
Govt. Office	4+		x								
D.O.	x										
Petrol	MANY	x	x	2	3	x	x		x	2	x
P.O.	x	x									
Hospital	x	x	x								
Water Supply	x	x	x								x
Electricity	x	x		x	x				x		x
Dispensary	4	x	x	x					x		x
Police	2	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		
Court	3	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
Mosque	3	x	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Church	3+	2	2	x	x					x	
Market	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Secondary School	3	x	x	x					x		
Primary School	6+	2	2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Native Administration	2		x	x					x		
Public Transport	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

* Suburb of Koidu

Table 14B. Rank 3 Settlements listed by Major Functions in 1975.

	Bagbema	Massabendu	Waidala	Peyima	Sukudu	Nemesedu	Njalla Nimiyema	Njalla Nimikoro	Tongoma	Simbakoro	Old Sefadu/Penduma	Baiama
Total	3	4	3	6	4	3	3	4	5	5	4	6
Petrol			x									
Water Supply												
Electricity												
Shops				x								
Court				x	x				x	x		x
Mosque		x		x				x	x	x		
Church									x	x	x	x
Market	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
Primary School	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Native Administration												x
Public Transport	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

In the mid 1960's there were only 8 towns in Kono (including Kayima which is outside the diamond area and counting Sefadu and Koidu as separate places, which they no longer are) with more than 1,000 people and 2 functions. Using a similar classification to that of Harvey, central Kono had at least 23 urban centres or towns by the mid 1970's. Certain other functions which are relevant only to Koidu and Yengema, such as the airfield and telephone system, have not been included in the list of functions and facilities.

Having classified and ranked all the settlements, the maps of central Kono, figures 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17, show the patterns of communication and settlements as they have altered and developed during the diamond era. Figures 16 and 17 show the settlement hierarchy in 1930 and 1976 according to the ranking of settlements. The 1930 pattern shows a more even spread of settlements, but with a slightly greater concentration in the richer agricultural lands of the central basin, centring on the Tumbodu-Yaradu area. The 1976 hierarchy closely resembles a drainage map of central Kono. It is easy to discern the lines of the diamond bearing rivers Meya, Moinde, Shongbo, Bandafayi, Gbobora, Bafi and Sewa, from the trends of settlements, especially rank 5 and above. The greatest concentration has occurred around Koidu, which was surrounded by good agricultural land as well as the richest diamond deposits. The central urban belt is a ribbon extension along the main Freetown road, extending from Bumpeh to Koidu. The Shongbo and Moinde valleys extend lines of dense population and large settlements northwards to

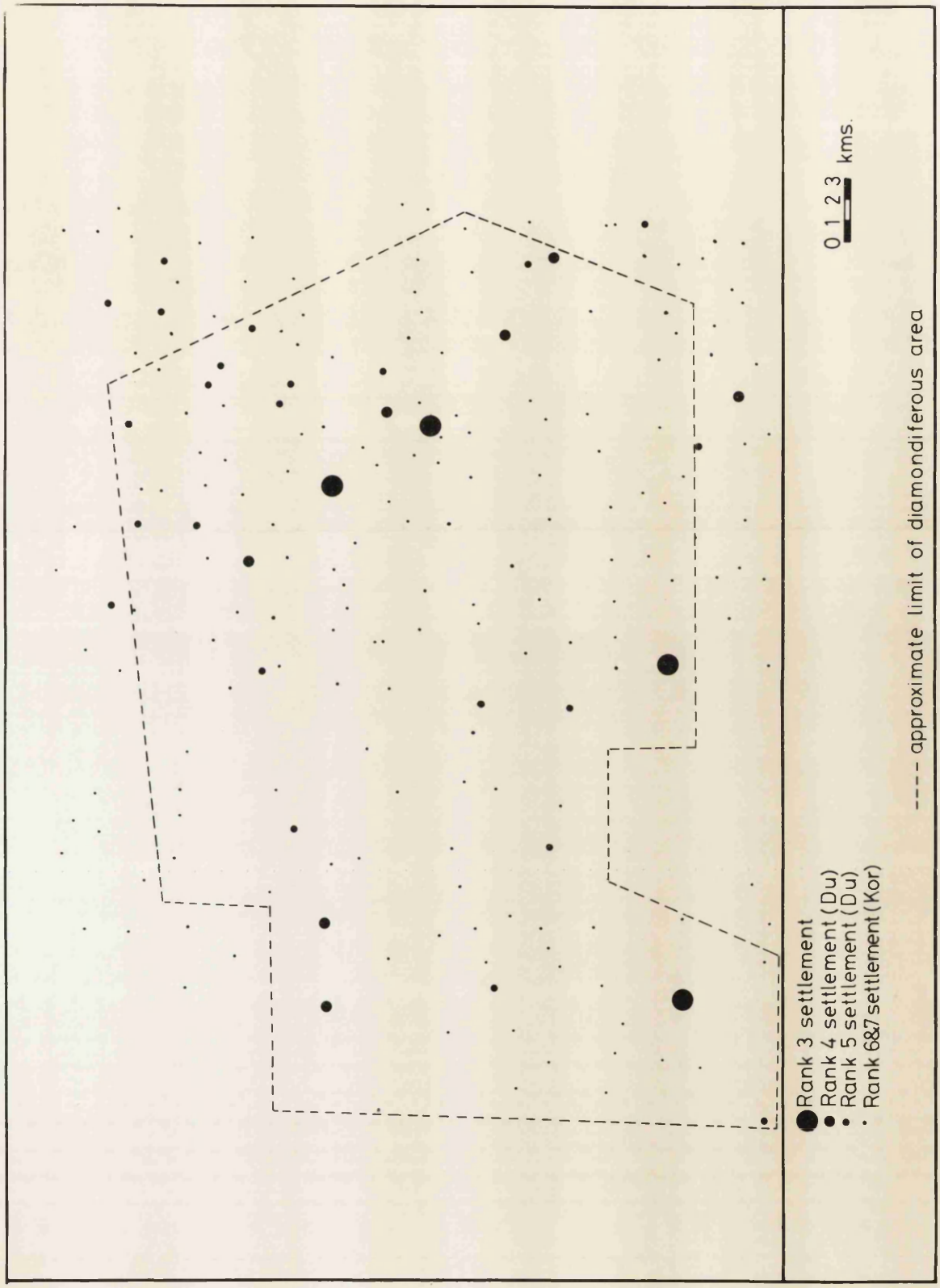

Figure 16. Settlement hierarchy in central Kono in 1930

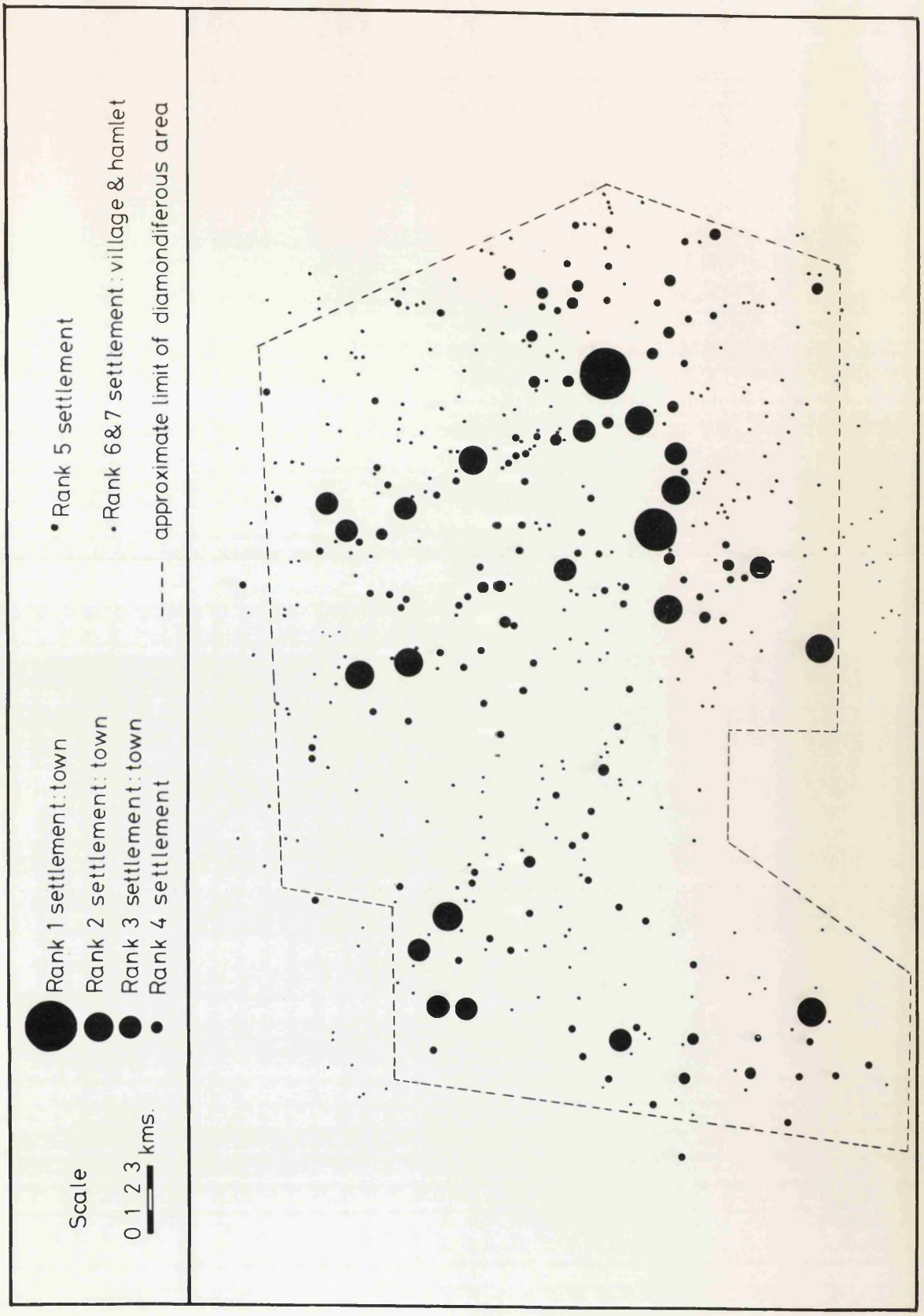

Figure 17. Settlement hierarchy in central Kono in 1976

the Bafi river from the central urban area.

The Sewa and Bafi/Bagbe confluence area of Sando and Nimiyema chiefdoms in the west, almost forms a separate population belt. The Nimini Hills, in the south between the two Jaiamas are not diamondiferous, are not well suited to agriculture and being high, forested and remote, have discouraged any settlements. Outliers of these hills continue northwards between Nimiyema and Nimikoro chiefdoms into Sando, further accentuating the division. The new Freetown to Koidu road has helped to link these parts of Kono and a new line of large villages has grown up along this road, which skirts the northern edge of the Nimini Hills.

Figures 13, 14 and 15, of central Kono, indicate both the changing settlement and communications patterns. In 1930 all of the settlements that are marked, were linked by footpaths, but the only major long distance routes, which allowed head porterage etc., were from north to south, with no adequate east-west links in central Kono. The only important road, before the diamond era, stopped at Sefadu. Routes in Kono were only routes into the area; a penetration into the interior, and not an actual network. The diamond rush initiated rapid development of roads as well as towns. Figure 14 of central Kono in 1960 shows the intermediate stage which had been reached after the initial diamond rush, with primary feeder roads reaching out to the main settlements. In the years that followed there has been an infilling of the road network.

Many roads shown on the 1976 map, figure 15, were built by S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. for its mining operations, but are used by public transport. The greatest concentration of the network is in the Koidu/Yengema area. Whereas in 1960 the only major route into Kono was from Segbwema in the south, roads now go out of Kono in all directions, especially the main Freetown road west from Jaiama Sewafe, as well as routes from Tefeya and Yomadu northwards via Kayima into Koinadugu District, east from Koidu to the Guinea border, and southwards via Jaiama Nimikoro to Panguma and Kenema, and from Koidu to Segbwema. The central diamond mining area had 9 miles of roads in 1930, 170 miles by 1960 and 300 miles by 1976.

Between 1967 and 1972 the number of motor vehicles in Sierra Leone increased from almost 21,000 to 45,000 (Development Plan 1974). A traffic survey carried out as part of the Kono Road Project (Blair-Kono Road 1975) in 1972 found that 64% of all vehicles entering Kono did so from the west by way of the new Freetown road. Of all vehicles on the road 71% were taxis. The section between Bumpeh and Koidu was the most heavily used. In a twenty four hour period 471 vehicles were recorded between Magburaka and Matotoka, 314 between Matotoka and Masingbi, 672 between Masingbi and Jaiama Sewafe, 704 between Jaiama Sewafe and Bumpeh and 5,808 between Bumpeh and Koidu.

As the initial impact of the diamond rush waned, people also began to settle in the mining towns, as towns in their own right. Functions increased after the initial rapid growth, even though Harvey (Harvey 1966) had stated in the mid 1960's that the growth

of diamond towns was not followed by a functional increase. Excess wealth was first spent on housing (Gervis 1971) then put into improving services and facilities etc., especially as families increased in number and importance, and male diamond digger dominance declined. People have migrated to the diamond fields, population has increased and migrants have settled in Kono with families. A hierarchy of towns, large and small villages has developed as part of this process of immigration, with a concentration of settlements in the central basin between Bumpeh and Koidu. The patterns of settlements and communications closely follow those of the diamond bearing rivers. The population has become increasingly concentrated into larger, higher ranked settlements. Within the urban hierarchy of central Kono, Koidu/New Sembehun is primate.

Settlement Morphology in Central Kono

In Kono and throughout much of the Mandingo area of the western Guinea Highlands, the form of a village was either a few small huts alongside a footpath and surrounded by tall trees or a closely compact defensive site, also surrounded by tall trees and sometimes on a hilltop. These shapes of settlements may still be observed throughout the area, especially at the rank 5, 6 or 7 size.

The term nuclear is used in this section to describe a settlement in which there is no regular arrangements of houses, but which is closely packed, usually circular in shape and with a marked central place. The centre may be an open area or it may consist of a Barrie. Defensive sites are often nuclear in

their morphology, and may be observed in the 'old towns' of Kono. Similar to this is a compact shape, often lacking a central place, but still irregular in layout and closely packed. This form of settlement sometimes tends towards a linear or grid pattern, or both. Traditional settlements usually adhered to these forms. Modern influences, especially the intrusion of stranger groups, roads and mines, have brought new forms of settlement morphology.

The linear pattern occurs where buildings follow the roads, often spread out, but sometimes tending towards a compact shape. The settlement may possess an original nucleus from which a linear development has occurred, for example when a road is constructed through a compact or nuclear settlement. The settlement becomes elongated as houses furthest from the road are deserted, and new buildings erected at either end of the village alongside the road. When a place has grown in linear fashion from one or more nuclei, along several roads, the shape may be termed radial. In Kono, only Koidu has grown in this way. The town started as several settlements and villages, some of which were nuclear, some compact, three were linear and two settlements on a grid plan. Roads entered these settlements in several directions, linking the nuclei of the town inwards as well as outwards. Inward radial growth linked up the conurbation, while outward radial growth is now most evident.

A grid pattern occurs where a settlement has been planned. Streets are straight, usually intersecting at right angles. Most S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. camps are built on a grid pattern, although some chiefdom towns, such as Jaiama Sewafe and Kayima (outside the diamond area) have been planned by health author-

Plate 7. The Centre of Bumpeh. The style of houses, lay out of compounds and density of buildings.

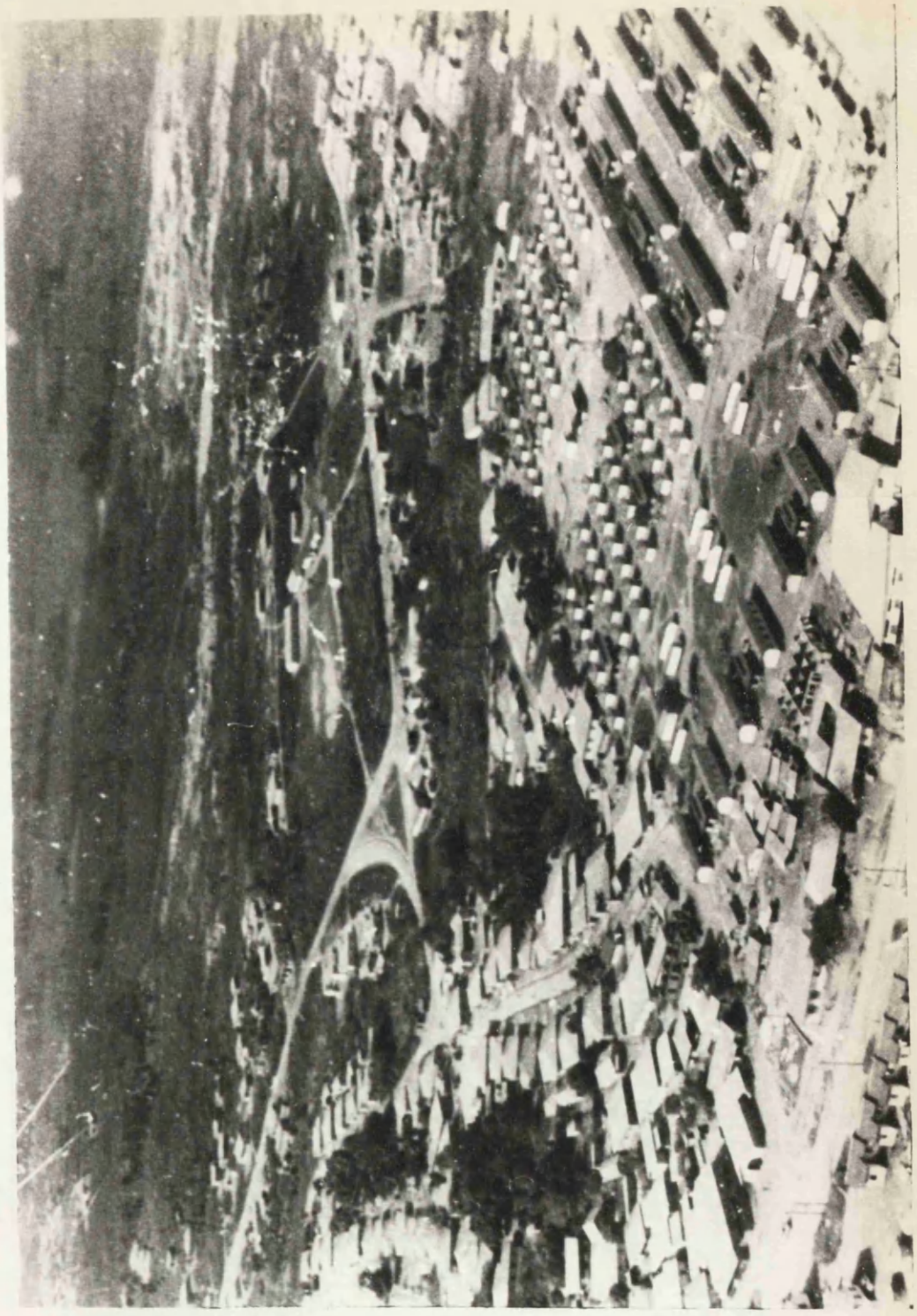

Plate 8. New Sembehun SLST/NDMC Mining Camp. The contrast between the ordered regularity and small houses of the camps, and the surrounding urban sprawl

ities and also exhibit a grid shape. Many of the mining camps have long buildings, subdivided for several employees and their families.

A combination of some of these four main shapes has resulted from the growth of multiple nuclei settlements. One of the most significant is the 'old town', usually the original defensive village on a hill or rise, existing alongside the new town which is built beside the road. The new towns are usually dominated by strangers who originally came to trade and dig diamonds, and who built their villages apart from the indigenous Kono population. Nowadays the 'old towns' are often inhabited by the old Kono people who maintain all the traditional customs and ceremonies. Sometimes a Christian mission, with its school, teachers' houses etc., forms another separate section, with a different morphology type. Yaradu in Gbense and Jaiama Nimikoro are good examples of old compact settlements existing alongside new linear settlements. Sometimes the old section forms a compact nucleus with new linear extensions branching off.

Another interesting development is the occurrence of twin towns; usually mining settlements on opposite banks of the same river. The biggest examples are Koidu/New Sembehun and Tumbodu/Bendu. Each of these has become one town. Other large twin towns are Peyima and Sukudu, Yomadu and Seidu, and Bagbema and Massabendu. The same phenomenon occurs elsewhere in southern Sierra Leone, especially along the big rivers, such as the Sewa and in the mining areas.

The settlements which were listed in the house count, from the 1976 air photographs, were also classified according to their morphology. Many of ranks 5, 6 and 7 are compact or nuclear in shape, although most roadside settlements are rapidly adopting a linear form.

Table 15. The main urban morphologies of the higher ranked settlements in central Kono, in 1976.

Morphology	Number	Percentage
Nuclear	4	6%
Compact	4	6%
Linear	26	42%
Grid	4	6%
Nuclear - grid	1	2%
Linear - compact	12	19%
Grid - compact	3	5%
Linear - nuclear	6	10%
Linear - grid	1	2%
Dispersed nuclei	1	2%
Total	62	100%

The Table shows that linear forms have become dominant; a response to the road network. Of the case studies which follow, two settlements (Sukudu and Bongema) are compact, two are linear (Ndoyogbor and Njalla), one is compact-linear (Bumpeh) and one is nuclear-linear (Peyima). The final case study, Koidu, combines all the urban forms of central Kono. The street maps that accompany the case studies demonstrate these urban forms, which are not extensively different from one another. The changes

that have occurred in house construction and materials greatly accentuate the differences between old and modern settlements. House type is also examined in greater detail in the case study settlements.

The settlement hierarchy and the rapid increase of population are new phenomena to central Kono, having largely been brought about by the diamond rush. Urbanisation is also a new phenomenon to Africa; one which shows no sign of slowing down. If the settlements of Kono are merely diamond rush boom towns, the ending of diamond mining must mean the end of the settlements. If, on the other hand, these settlements represent a new form of urban and semi-urban living with the diamonds merely having been the initiator of urbanisation, then most of the population will probably continue living in most of the mining settlements. Alternatively, the towns, on ceasing to provide a living and raison d'être, will prompt a mass migration to other urban areas.

Therefore, in order to assess the permanence of the diamond settlements and the extent to which they have diversified from their primary function, seven of the higher ranked settlements have been selected as case studies. The next three chapters examine these case studies in detail.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDIES OF DIAMOND MINING SETTLEMENTS IN NIMIKORO CHIEFDOM

The Choice of Case Studies and Methodology of the Surveys

There are about 45 urban and semi-urban settlements in central Kono. Of these, some are virtually suburbs of the larger towns, while some are chiefdom centres and others are S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. mining camps. Although Yengema has developed as a town, with a large population which is not employed by the company, most of the other N.D.M.C. camps are small institutionalised settlements close to the diamond washing plants and security posts. When mining ceases and the company finally closes down, these mining camps are the least likely settlements to survive. Chiefdom towns exist in their own right as central places in the chiefdom, as well as gaining income and growth through diamond mining. A few settlements of a semi-urban (rank 4) nature, have grown up on the main Freetown/Koidu road, some having the added impetus of proximity to diamond deposits.

This leaves about thirty settlements which are very close to, or on top of, diamond deposits, and which would appear to be diamond mining towns. Many of the other places ranked 2, 3 and 4 (the chiefdom centres, roadside settlements and mining camps) are also to a greater or lesser extent, diamond mining towns, as well as a considerable proportion of the large villages ranked 5. It has been shown in the previous chapter that these settlements have grown very rapidly during the diamond era and that they have developed as urban central places in a distinct hierarchy. It has also been shown that the chiefdoms in which

they are situated are virtually dominated by diamond mining, showing characteristics of population, migration and occupation that are associated with the diamond rush.

An aim of this study is to describe in detail the new kind of urban form that has developed in this part of Africa: to examine the migrant population and its occupation structure, the construction of the buildings and the shape and function of the settlements. It is an entirely new urban form of settlement that has developed where before there were only rural villages. The most obvious reason for this growth and change is the exploitation of diamond deposits. Therefore it is important not only to describe the new form of urban settlement, but also to assess the dominance of diamond mining and to ascertain the extent to which mining settlements are permanent features of the urban pattern. The following chapters will show that larger urban centres are more diversified in their occupational structures and less dependent upon primary activities, in particular mining. It will also suggest the likely severity of the decline, and emigration from the area once the diamond deposits are exhausted.

In studying diamond mining settlements case studies of mining towns were selected, as being representative of all the mining settlements of central Kono District. Chiefdom headquarters, company mining camps, suburbs and places some distance from any diamond deposits were excluded from the possible list of settlements (with the exception of Koidu).

The first criterion for the choice of case studies was to select both from a declining area and from an expanding area.

Most mining settlements in central Kono were stagnating by the mid-1970's. There was no excessive boom or decline taking place in any area, but the northern part of Kamara chiefdom provides the best example of decline over a long period. Other towns along the Bafi river, especially Yomadu and Seidu, have shown modest and sustained prosperity. An area of expansion and boom was selected in central Nimikoro chiefdom. The mid-1970's saw increased I.D.M. operations on the swamp deposits of the Bandafayi river system to the south west of Yengema. Thus these two areas were chosen for the selection of case studies.

Other criteria had to be satisfied if the case studies were to be representative. Settlements had to come from each of the ranks 1, 2 and 3, and also from 4, although this being semi-urban was not considered to be quite as important as the higher ranked towns. In being selected from each rank, different population sizes and functions would be studied. Different settlement morphologies should also be exhibited by the case studies. The last section in the previous chapter shows that this criterion was met. Twin settlements should not be split and, anyway, this phenomenon being widespread in central Kono, it was worthy of study. Case studies should also represent A.D.M.S. and I.D.M. settlements, and be distributed between central and peripheral areas. Other differences worth considering were those places with access to the river deposits of the Bafi/Sewa, and those close to the swamp and stream gravels of the central

area. The river deposits encourage larger towns rather than the scattered huts, villages and small towns which are located on the widespread stream and swamp deposits.

It was difficult to locate declining rank 4 settlements as these were likely to have returned to being villages. Concentrations of these settlements are in Nimiyema, Nimikoro and Gbense chiefdoms, mainly in the more central areas on swamp deposits. It was important to locate rank 4 settlements away from large urban concentrations, such as Koidu, where they may be suburbs. The study of taxpaying populations of places this size suggests an interchange of population, especially in boom and decline periods, between rank 4 and higher ranked settlements. As there were few rank 4 mining settlements in northern Kamara, two examples were selected in central Nimikoro. Their taxpaying figures suggested a relationship between these two places and the other case studies selected in this area.

Bumpeh and Njalla in Nimikoro and Peyima and Sukudu in Kamara were selected as representative of all aspects of rank 2 and 3 settlements. It was not feasible to isolate Sukudu from Peyima, these being twin towns. Whereas Peyima may be considered to be at the upper end of rank 3, Sukudu is clearly at the bottom, virtually rank 4. There was also evidence that Peyima had not declined as severely as Sukudu. Both towns are in the A.D.M.S. block. Bumpeh, in central Kono, has grown largely as an I.D.M. town. In form it resembles Seidu and Yomadu, to the north. Bumpeh also has a small N.D.M.C. camp adjacent to the main part of the town. Njalla, peripheral to the central area, is on the N.D.M.C. lease, but is close to a small A.D.M.S. area, thus benefitting from both types of mining. Bumpeh is growing fast, whereas Njalla has

expanded much more slowly. Illicit mining rank 4 settlements in the area between Bumpeh and Njalla are Ndoyogbor, having some relationship to Bumpeh, and Bongema, which relates to Njalla.

All criteria for the choice of case studies are satisfied by these six settlements. Each settlement obviously does not satisfy all criteria, as no one settlement can. An overlap of features and types has been ensured to make the six case studies as representative of other mining towns, as any other group chosen to satisfy the same conditions.

The main case study is rather more a study on its own. Koidu/New Sembehun, being the primate city of Kono, is not representative of anything else in the district, although it can be compared with other places of a similar large size, such as Kenema or Bo, or mining settlements in other parts of Africa. A few short studies were made of Koidu during its period of rapid growth. Because the town changed and grew so rapidly, these studies were immediately outdated. Now that the growth and development of the town have been brought under control, this present study of Koidu describes the place as it exists at the latter part of the diamond era. The study of Koidu is more intensive and wide ranging than the analyses of the smaller towns, because of its dominance and importance.

The shape, functions and growth of the case study settlements were analysed by the use of air photographs, tax figures and interviews with chiefs, elders and residents of each of the settlements. To compile information on house type, population, place

of origin, tribe, occupation, migration and family ties, a questionnaire survey was carried out in all of the case study settlements. It was not practicable, and would probably have been less accurate, to survey every household in every settlement, so sample surveys were carried out between November 1975 and March 1976.[1]

The problem in choosing a sample size was not knowing the population or exact size of the settlements at the time of the surveys. Each of the six smaller settlements was divided into four, five or six sections, according to the 1966 air photographs of Nimikoro and 1958 photographs of Kamara. Ten households were then selected randomly in each section, ensuring, however, that they were scattered throughout the whole section. As there generally were not streets within each of these sections, a random scatter was fairly easy to achieve. A household was defined as a shared living unit, with one person who was considered the head of the household to whom all other members owed some sort of allegiance by blood, marital relationship or financially, such as a servant or lodger. The households could thus include more than one building, but were not taken to be less than a whole building.[2]

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1. The survey will be referred to as the 1975/76 Household Survey.

2. This differs from the definition of a household, in the Sierra Leone Government Household Surveys of the Provinces carried out between 1968 and 1969, in that a lodger was considered in that survey to be a separate household. Similarly a group of people who ate together was considered to be a household, even if several such groups resided in the same compound. As it is common in Sierra Leone for each wife (in a polygamous family) to cook separately for her own children and relatives, the 1975 household survey has assumed that several such sub-groups still constitute one household.

The percentage sample was calculated when it became possible to count the number of buildings in the settlement (from the 1976 air photographs).

In Koidu/New Sembehun 600 households were surveyed, 60 in Bumpeh, 51 in Peyima, 50 in Njalla, 40 in Sukudu, 30 in Ndoyogbor and 20 in Bongema. The sample in Bumpeh was 28%, Bongema 31%, Ndoyogbor 63%, Njalla 34%, Peyima 31% and Sukudu 47%, of the total number of buildings. Koidu was divided, according to the 1966 air mosaic, into 40 enumeration areas. Some areas had no houses in 1966, but were defined by observation in 1975. The criterion in drawing the boundaries of the enumeration area was ease of definition. At the time of the survey all the street names in Koidu were being changed, so that main streets, taking the centre of the street as the boundary, and the non-urban spaces between suburbs, were used in defining the enumeration areas. It was not possible to divide the town into perfectly equal areas, but this method of sampling prevented any duplication or neglect of areas. Twenty larger areas were allotted a sample of twenty households each, while the other twenty were allotted a sample of ten each. A random scatter of households was then selected from each enumeration area. The overall sample size in Koidu was 17% of all buildings. The samples within individual areas ranged between 7% and 25%.

The household survey was divided into five sections:

a) The buildings: carried out partly by observation, recording the number of buildings per household, number of rooms per household, water supply, electricity, shops, structure of the floor and walls, ceiling, roof material and age of erection.

b) The population: males over 15 years, females over 15 years, children, adult males related to the head of the household, adult females related to the head of the household.

c) The head of the household:[3] length of time spent in the town, tribe, place of birth, occupation, previous place of residence, number of men in the household who work for him, ownership of the house.

d) Adult males:[4] for each individual, the length of time spent in the town, tribe, place of birth, occupation, previous place of residence.

e) Women and children: for each individual woman, occupation and tribe, the number of children in primary school and the number of children attending secondary school.

The questionnaire was given a trial run in Bongema first, and partially restructured before the main surveys were carried out. A small household survey was also carried out in six rural villages, deep in the forest outside the diamond area and away from all roads, simply for interest and contrast.[5]

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3. This section was made separate from information about the other adult males, partly in order to make the head of the household feel more important and co-operative, and also to make observations on householders.

4. Adult males were studied in greater detail than women and children because they represent the migrant population. The extent to which they have diversified out of diamond mining may influence the amount of emigration after the diamonds have finished.

5. Useful comparisons may be made with the Government Household Survey of the Rural Areas of the Provinces (Freetown 1969). Concurrence of statistics, in an area that has changed only slowly during the intervening six years, is a useful test of the reliability of the 1975 household surveys in central Kono.

Description and History of the Nimikoro Case Studies

Njalla and Bumpeh grew into small towns during the initial diamond rush of the1950's, whereas Bongema and Ndoyogbor expanded most during the 1970's. The 1958 air photographs[6] show that Bumpeh and Njalla had approximately the same morphological patterns as today, although they only had a fraction of the present numbers of buildings. Bumpeh had 85 houses in 1958, mostly with thatched roofs, and Njalla 86 houses, of which 59 were conical thatched roof buildings. Bongema only had 7 thatched roof houses, in a small clearing surrounded by thick forest. Ndoyogbor did not exist at that time.

The four settlements have prospered from illicit mining of the rich Bandafayi valley. Bumpeh and Ndoyogbor lie to the north of the Bandafayi river. South east of them is the S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. number twelve gravel washing plant, with two separate mining camps, one for the plant workers and a security barracks. A couple of miles south east of this is Bongema. A number of other illicit mining villages lie along the edge of the Bandafayi flood plain. Another mile south is Njalla, lying on the edge of the company lease. The A.D.M.S. area is south east of the town, but deposits are small in extent and have been worked many times. It is more important as a legal base for the sorting of stolen gravel.

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6. Air photographs referred to in the text are as follows:
Air photography by Aircraft Operating Company Ltd. February 1957, December 1958 and April 1959; Use of prints by courtesy of Geography Dept., University of Sierra Leone.
Hunting Survey Ltd. November and December 1966; air mosaic by courtesy of Selection Trust, London.
Infra-red aerial photography, January 1976; use of prints by courtesy of Minister of Lands and Mines, Freetown, and Land Resources Survey Unit of Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Freetown.

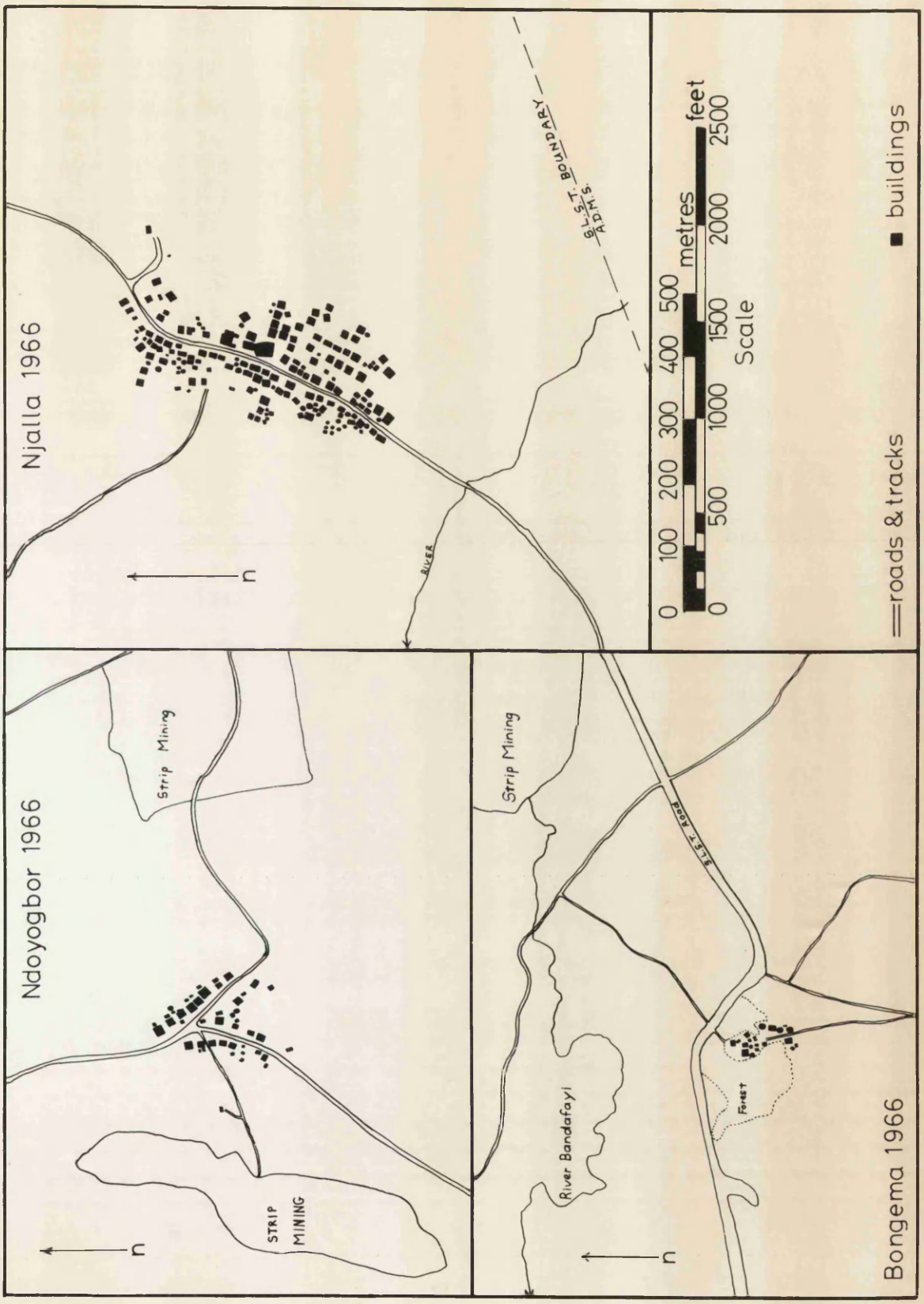

Figure 18. Settlement patterns of Nimikoro boom towns in 1966

All four settlements are built on low ridges between diamondiferous swamps and valleys, with Bongema on a terrace above the flood plain. Figure 18 of settlement patterns in 1966 shows that the shape of Njalla, figure 21, has changed little in the intervening ten years. Bumpeh's basic shape also remains much the same, figure 19, but a comparison of figure 18 with the patterns of Bongema, figure 22, and Ndoyogbor, figure 20, in 1976 shows the change in form that has occurred.

The original tight nucleus of Bumpeh has remained. The N.D.M.C. camp is still a separate settlement to the north, but as the town has expanded northwards there is much less space between the camp and town than there was formerly. The lines of houses and roads radiate out from the lorry park and market place, as straight streets, with an outer perimeter road. Recent development over the last five years has tended to pull the town out towards the main road, although swamps have limited much southward or westward growth. As a result Bumpeh junction is a separated settlement a quarter of a mile from the market place. The perimeter road originally enclosed the town, having no buildings along its outer side. About ten years ago building started along this road, which at that time ran through the surrounding mango forest. Now the mango trees are gone and the whole road is lined with houses, up to three or four deep. Extension of the town has most recently been eastwards along the ridge towards Bendu.

Across the valley from Bumpeh is the now disused S.L.S.T. washing plant. The mining camp north of Bumpeh was built to house

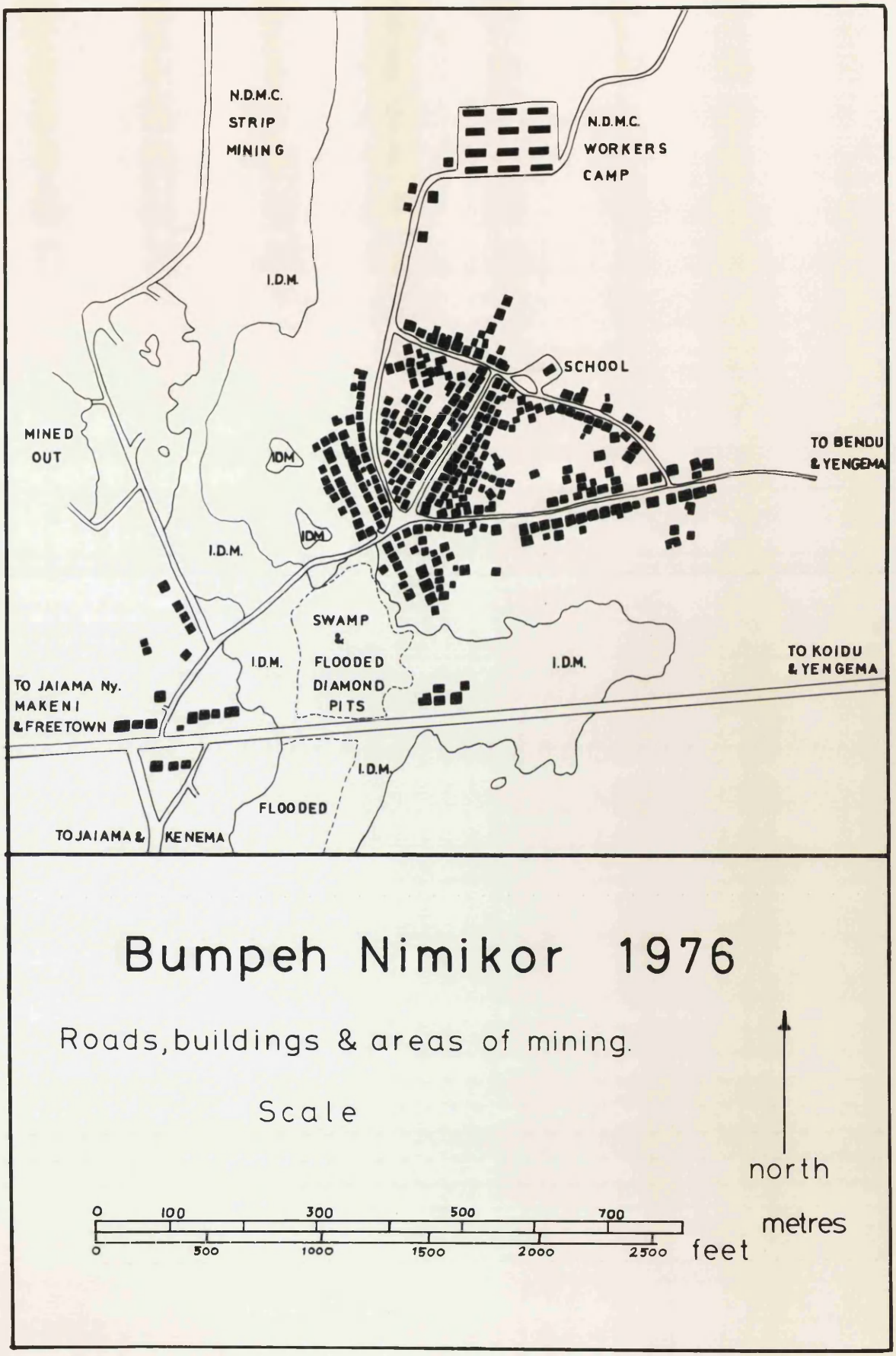

Figure 19. Bumpeh in 1976

workers at this plant. They now work at the Bandafayi plant. In the camp are twelve long buildings, each housing three or four families. Bumpeh town existed to exploit the same deposits, in illicit competition. The town was also reputed to be a centre for vice and prostitution, being at an important crossroads. Allowing for exaggeration on the part of the Churches, who described Bumpeh as a regular den of vice and iniquity, it was the only large diamond mining town to have more women than men in 1963, especially in the 15 to 35 years age group, although a number of reasons may account for this.[7] By 1976 the town was very busy and full of people. Much travel and migration was taking place, especially between towns on the Bafi river and the N.D.M.C. Tongo lease where I.D.M. booms were occurring. Bumpeh was at a crossroads for this movement. It was clearly benefitting from its close proximity to the Freetown/Koidu highway.

During 1975 an extensive N.D.M.C. security offensive took place in central Kono against illicit diggers. Large I.D.M. operations, costing Lebanese arrangement masters Le. 10-12,000 were allowed to go unchecked in the initial stages when diggers removed the overburden. When the diggers were ready to start extracting the diamond bearing gravels, the security police attacked, driving them away and bulldozing the overburden back before the deposits were disturbed. This had discouraged Lebanese entrepreneurs who were sponsoring the big operations in the

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7. See 'Population characteristics in 1963' in Chapter 5 which deals with population and age/sex structures in the four mining towns.

Bandafayi and Meya valleys, where I.D.M. was most extensive. Some miners from Bumpeh had moved north to Seidu, and others had gone to Tongo during 1975. However, digging still continued around the town, with regular convoys of I.D.M.'s carrying sacks and buckets of diamondiferous gravel from the Bandafayi valley across the main road into Bumpeh town, where it was washed and sorted in relative peace.

Facilities in Bumpeh are well developed. Taxis and lorries stop in the market place, or at the junction. The N.D.M.C. camp has its own barrie. In the town is a mosque and a U.M.C. church. The R.C. primary school takes up to 200 children. Several Koran schools had combined during 1975, taking more children, altogether, than the primary school. There is a court barrie and a rather delapidated market barrie in the town. There is no electricity or water supply, although one wealthy diamond dealer had his own generator. The main water supply is from wells. The town is prosperous and its young Kono chief is a Muslim who has good relations with the large non-Kono population.

Ndoyogbor is a linear settlement on the road from Bumpeh junction to Jaiama, Panguma and Kenema. Although a fairly prosperous illicit mining settlement only a mile south of Bumpeh, it is untidy and dirty. This is rare in Kono, where the clean maintenance of houses and surroundings is quite rigorously enforced by the chief and councillors. The dirty state of the settlement is indicative of the poor control exercised by the elderly chief. Ndoyogbor was founded from Nyamundu, an old village south of the Bandafayi river. Chiefdom officials in Jaiama allege that it was

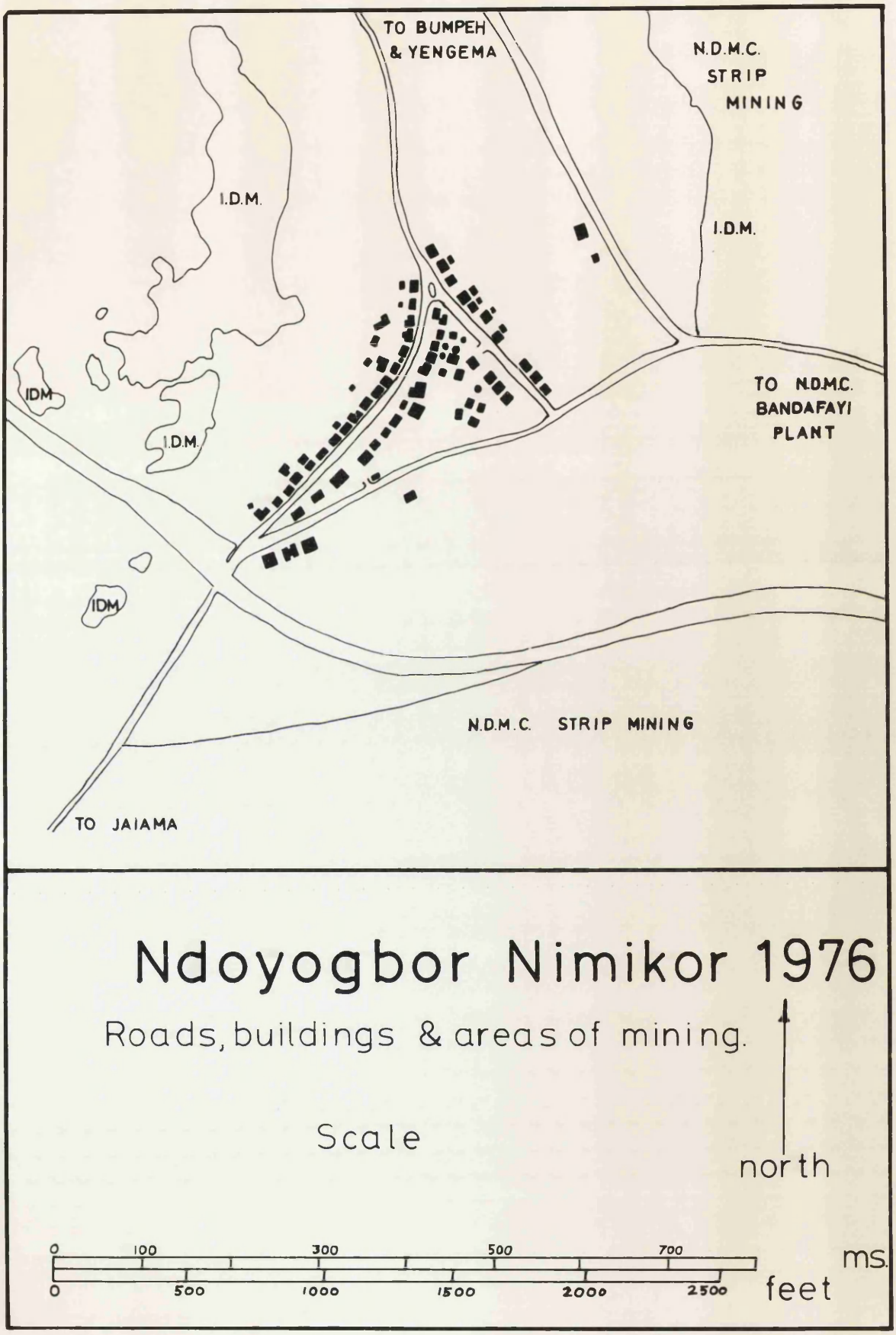

Figure 20. Ndoyogbor in 1976

founded illegally without the permission of the Paramount Chief, but at that time Kono was in a state of virtual anarchy with many I.D.M. settlements appearing overnight. N.D.M.C. roads surround the place and the Jaiama Kenema road is the main street of Ndoyogbor. Houses are distributed spaciously. A few small shops along the main street include a bar which seldom stocks any beer. There is also a small market and the Jaiama-Bumpeh-Yengema taxi service begrudgingly stops in Ndoyogbor.

The ridge on which Njalla is built is narrower than that of Bumpeh and the road from Jaiama to Koidu, built in the 1930's by missionaries, lay along the ridge before the town was built. This determined its linear shape. The very small huts of 1966 and earlier have mainly been replaced by larger pan roofed houses, intensifying the linear pattern. Njalla boomed in the mid 1950's amidst immense problems of uncontrolled growth. It was described at that time by the Kono Health Officer: "Njalla between Jaiama and Sefadu was also a fast growing settlement of illicit diamond miners and dealers, and having the poorest type of dwelling. The people got their water from a swamp, had no latrines, and a large area around the town was fouled by human excrement. The labourers had money for tinned foods which resulted in many empty tins lying about every house. The community was a massive fly breeding area. The population was largely of immigrant Mandingoes. This town was said to be typical of such centres of population in the diamond area" (Parsons 1964, page 211). Njalla was a much quieter and cleaner place in 1975. It seemed likely that many men in the town had moved the short distance to Bongema and other villages near the Bandafayi, for the rich illicit mining. Njalla, being on

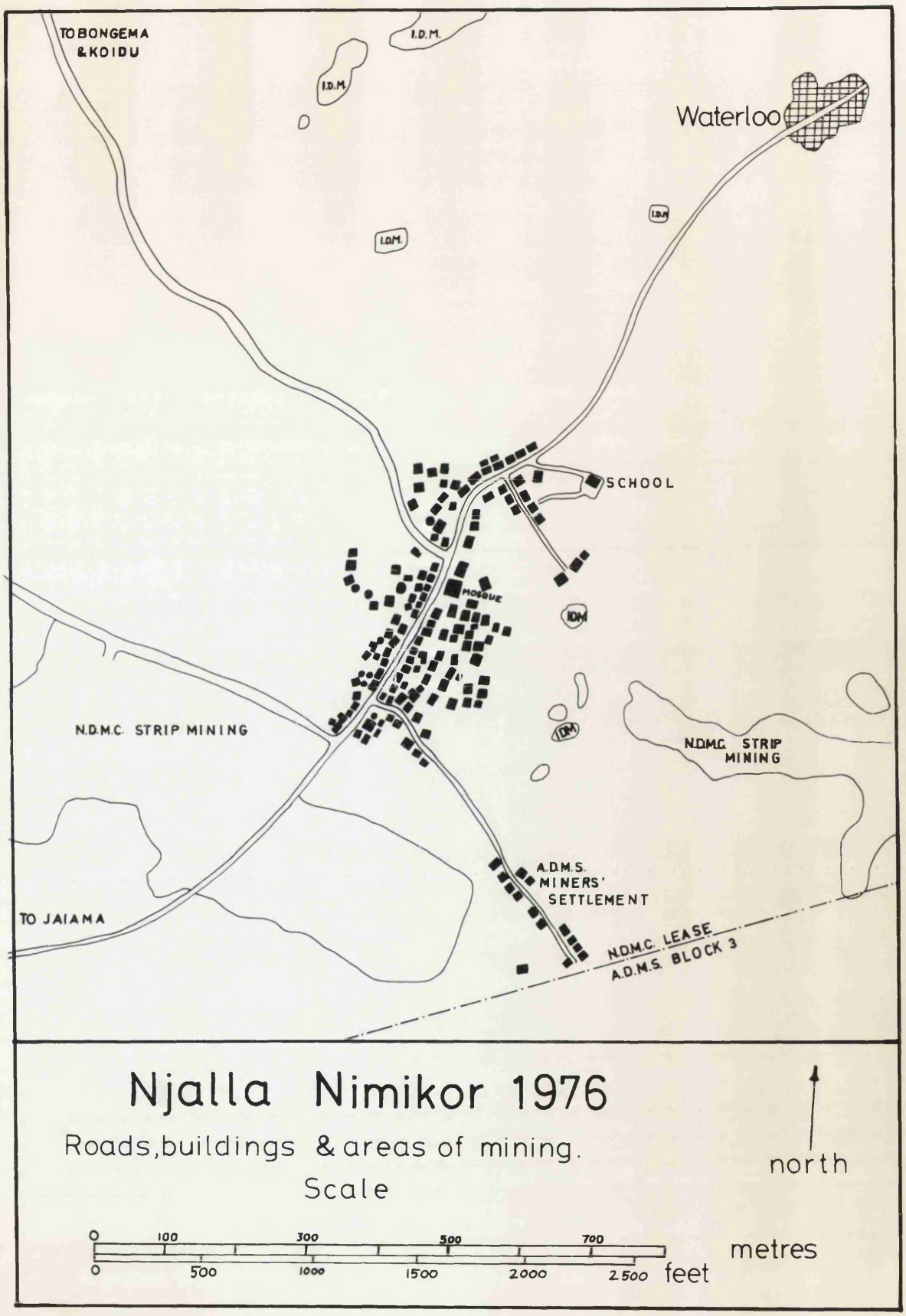

Figure 21. Njalla in 1976

the edge of the lease, is much more rural in character than places like Bumpeh. However, diamonds continue to be dominant in the life of the place. There is a U.M.C. primary school consisting of two classrooms, and opposite it is a Koran school, held in a private house. There are several shops along the main street and a market barrie with a daily market. The Jaiama to Koidu taxis[8] serve Njalla.

The centre of the town is dominated by an ornate mosque, which on a moonlit night is an impressive building. It was built around 1960 by Mr. Sie, a Senegalese Fula. He found a very large diamond in the 1950's, and built himself a two storey house, plus a fine mosque. After spending most of the money, he became rich again in the 1969 diamond rush, buying the usual Mercedes Benzes, before once again losing most of his wealth. In 1975 he had started a fresh venture based on the A.D.M.S. area outside the town, where by mid 1976 he had built sixteen houses for his workers. These were well built employing pan roofs, wooden frames

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8. Long distance private enterprise public transport in Sierra Leone consists of lorries and small buses, usually holding up to 25 people. Shorter distance, inter-town and village public transport consists of saloon cars euphemistically called taxis. These may go up to 50 miles, carry excessive loads of produce and passengers, and are often the first business into which a successful diamond digger diversifies. In central Kono fares in 1976 were around 5 cents a mile, or less, depending upon the quality of the road for different services. The ubiquitous taxi has also been known to carry loads of diamondiferous gravel, heaped up on the back seat and in the boot, to be ferried out to safe licensed plots off the lease. Successful diamond diggers turned taxi drivers used to race their vehicles on the wide N.D.M.C. service roads and on the Freetown highway, often resulting in serious accidents.

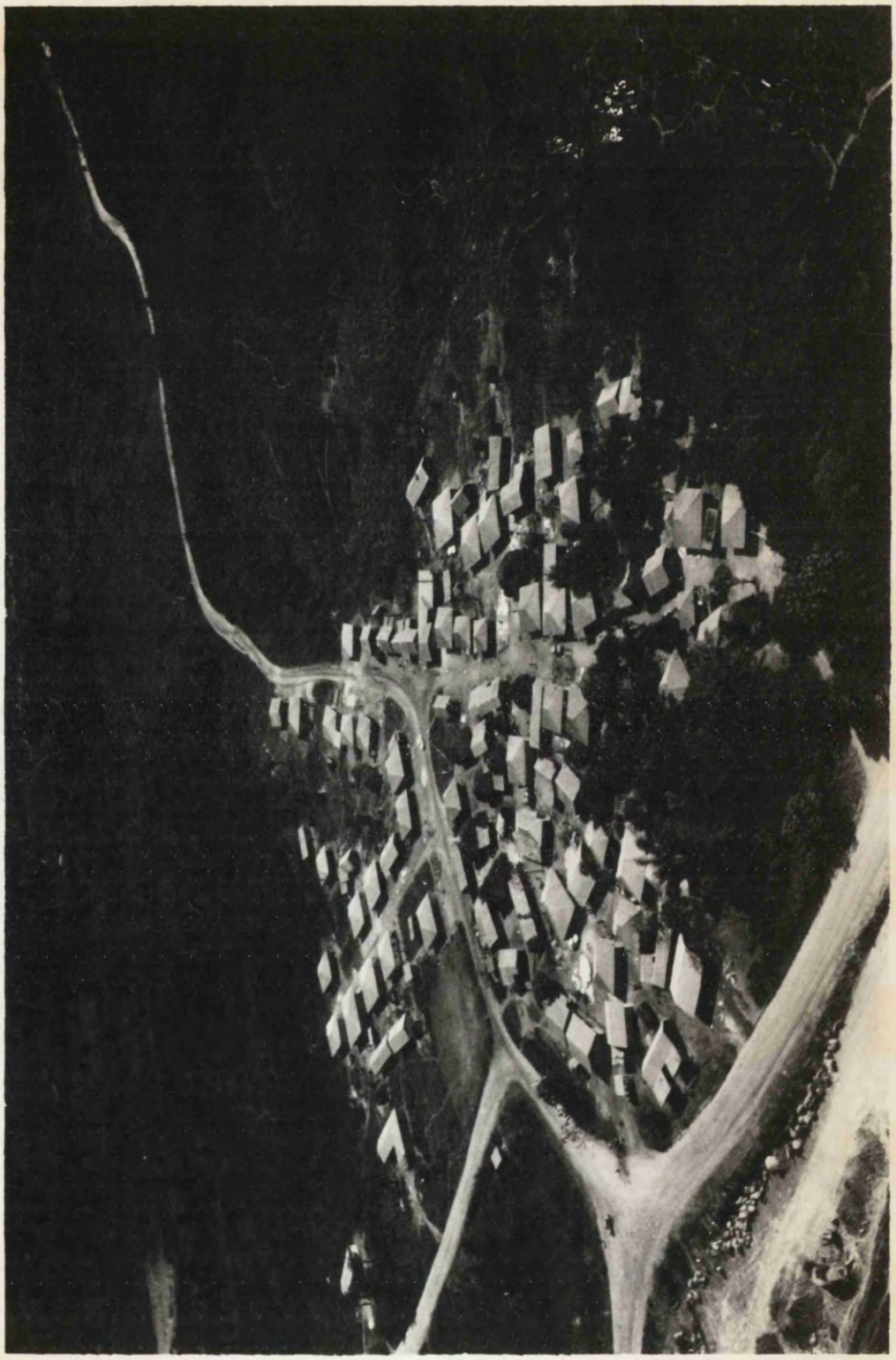

Plate 9. Bongema from the north. The original nucleus can be identified in the centre foreground

Plate 10. Njalla from the south.

and mud blocks. The Sie mining camp included a praying ground and he had recruited local women to feed his workers. Seven Sierra Leoneans had taken out licences, employing twenty men each, all being sponsored and controlled by Sie. An extremely dynamic and shrewd entrepreneur, his operation was exploiting the A.D.M.S. plot and adjacent N.D.M.C. deposits, by the pit system, using seven motor pumps to drain the swamp. Some licensees recruited their own workers and shared directly in the profits. Sie organised the system of mining, the provision of tools, food and housing etc., and bought and sold all diamonds. On most days sleek and parasitic Lebanese dealers waited in their Mercedes on the slope above the swamp to buy stones directly from Sie as they were found. Much illicitly mined gravel from the N.D.M.C. lease was also sorted and washed on the licence.

Bongema expanded from a distinct nucleus, which still contains some of the original thatched roof rural huts. The chief lives in the centre of the original settlement, while the speaker, a more opportunist gentleman, has his house on the edge of the nucleus area. The settlement expanded out of this nucleus along the existing track, and radiating out onto the other tracks. It is in an excellent commanding position for illicit mining operations and is a very active I.D.M. town.

Bongema boomed into a small town after 1972, peaking in 1974, after which a gradual decline had already begun. Even in 1975 the place boasted fifty village councillors, each of whom represented twenty men. Despite its rapid and recent growth houses were substantially built and many possessed wells. A mosque was being

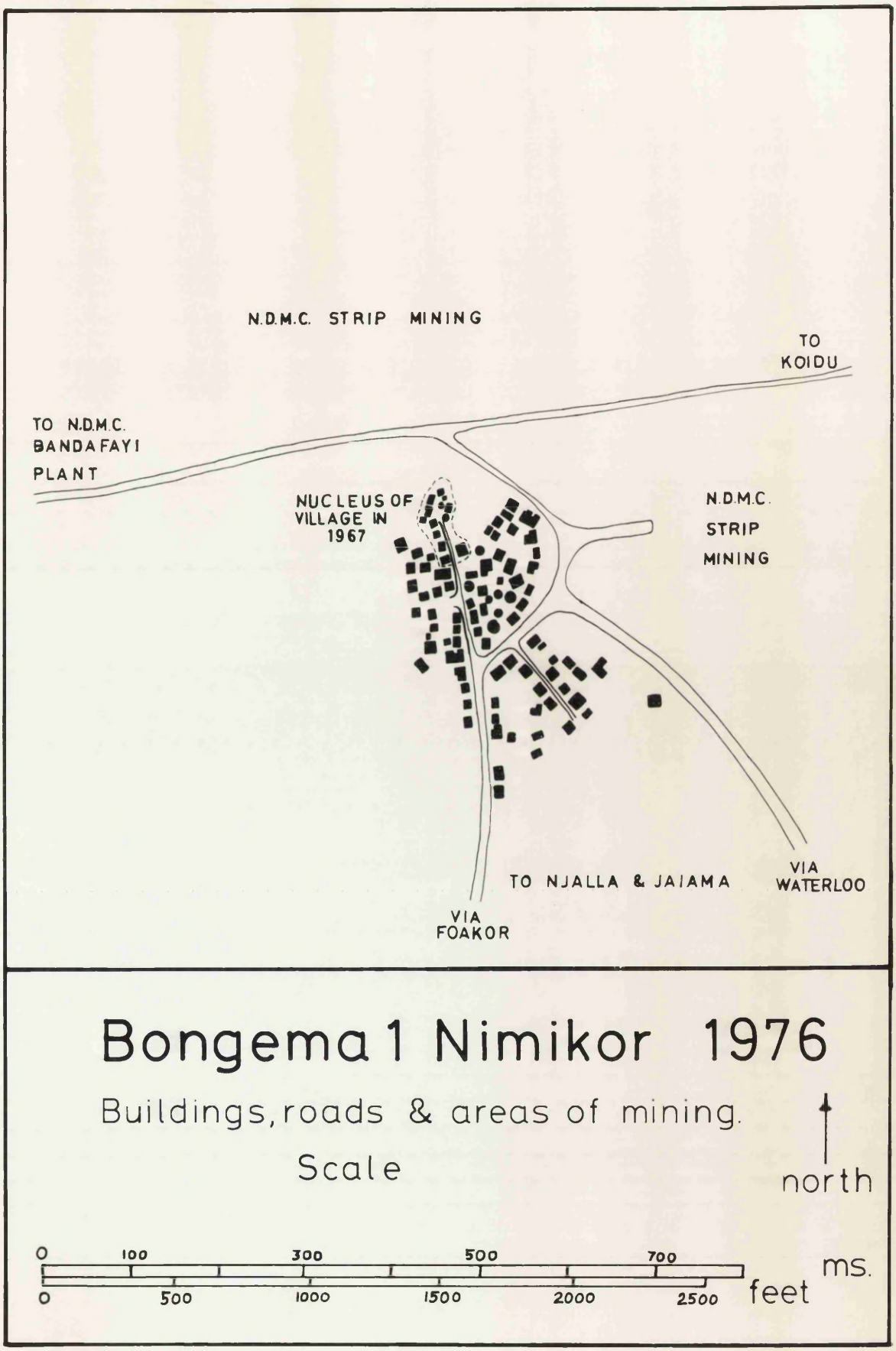

Figure 22. Bongema in 1976

built on the edge of the town, and a Koran school was held in one of the larger new houses. The taxi service through Njalla to Koidu and Jaiama, adapted immediately to the new settlement, and dirt tracks became motorable roads that detoured through Bongema and then onto the N.D.M.C. road system to the main road.

Small businesses were concentrated along the narrow main street, with a good market, containing around 45 traders, in the old village centre. There were 16 small shops and 9 itinerant traders, one bar and 4 'restaurants' providing cooked rice and sauce throughout the day, a couple of establishments even providing benches and tables for customers. There were also 8 tailors and a butcher. These retail facilities were superior to those found in Jaiama Nimikoro, a town with three times the population. I.D.M. around Bongema was incessant, day and night, as were raids, fights and occasional instances of drowning.

The 1976 rainy season was very heavy, but despite the mud and rain and flooding of the swamps, many people were out digging the Bandafayi deposits in August. Lookouts were posted along the terrace above the valley, some armed with clubs and knives, to protect the diggers and guard against raids. During one such day during August, a raid was in progress, with about thirty diggers carrying shovels and sieves running up from the valley pursued by N.D.M.C. security police, while most diggers carried on working in the centre of the valley. They were mainly women, skirts rolled up and sieves in their hands, keeping an eye on the progress of the security men as they worked round the far end of the swamp, but with an easy escape route up into Bongema, which was guarded by the lines of armed lookouts.

Population

The previous descriptions of the four case study settlements in Nimikoro establish that they all possess at least two urban or central place functions. The only other requirement for a town in Sierra Leone is that it should have at least one thousand inhabitants. This section examines the available statistics of population for the four places, establishing that they do all have one thousand inhabitants. A study of the 1963 Census, chiefdom taxpayer figures and house counts suggests the trends of population increase and allows some tentative projections which give estimates of the total 1976 population. A major problem lies in the unavailability of the chiefdom tax payment figures for 1963 and 1975 which would allow more direct comparisons with the Census to be made. A further problem concerns house counts from aerial photographs, where it is important to exclude outhouses, kitchens, stores and latrines, from the total of inhabitable houses. The maps of the four towns, figures 18 to 22, show all buildings, including outhouses, but calculations on the population per house are based only on the number of inhabitable buildings in each town.

Table 16. Population of Bumpeh, Bongema and Njalla as recorded in the 1963 Census (1963 Census, Volume 1).

	Bumpeh	Bongema	Njalla
Total Population	1,332	71	893
Males	663	34	451
Females	669	37	442

Table 17. Chiefdom tax payment for selected years in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla.[9]

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
1956	288		30	313
1962	319		26	183
1965	419		33	237
1967	570		30	208
1969	2,518		20	415
1971	2,224	317	125	1,158
1972	1,589	563	311	694
1974	1,785	467	1,000	789
Number of women and children per adult male	1.87	1.42	0.90	1.68
Possible total population (increased by proportion of women and children) 1974	5,130	1,132	1,897	2,118

These figures show the steady increase in size of Bumpeh and Njalla, reaching a peak in 1969-71 period, with Ndoyogbor and Nongema reaching their maximum later. Tax payment figures for Yamundu, the village from which Ndoyogbor was founded, show a sharp decline after 1971 when Ndoyogbor's population began to increase. The last two lines of the Table make projections on the 1974 number of taxpayers. The penultimate line shows the proportion of women and children to every adult male. This ratio is calculated from the 1975 household surveys of each town. The

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9. Nimikoro Chiefdom tax figures: 1956, 1962, 1971 and 1972 by courtesy of Kono Road Project, Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone; 1965, 1967, 1969, 1974, by courtesy of N.A. Office, Jaiama Nimikoro.

final line gives thepossible total population in 1974. However, this projection of the1974 figures of adult males is based on the ratio of men to women and children in 1975, when there is evidence that there were fewer men in all of these towns, as a result of emigration. Assuming that women and children migrate less, both in terms of distance and frequency, than men, the ratio of women and children in 1974 would probably have been different. Table 18 makes allowance for this variation in projecting population totals.

Without taxpayer figures for 1963 it is only possible to make estimates of thepercentage of adult males paying tax in that year. In Njalla approximately 65% paid tax and in Bumpeh approximately 80%; by comparing adult males recorded in the census with the number who paid tax. If the taxpaying population in 1974 were increased by the likely fraction not paying tax, the projected total for that year would be much higher. However, it seems likely that the number evading tax payment in central Nimikoro by the 1970's was very small. The total in Bongema of 1,000 coincides with the 50 chiefdom councillors. This may represent an over-estimate whereby spare tax receipts for that settlement allowed groups of illicit miners from other areas, to be moved in for short periods, when necessary, for big operations. Road blocks were set up in all four towns in 1973, 1974 and 1975, with extensive checks and raids. It is assumed that a very high proportion of men paid tax in these places during the 1970's, and so the figures have not been increased to allow for this factor.

Table 18. Numbers of houses in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Njalla and Bongema in 1958, 1966 and 1976 and projections of populations based on 1976 house counts.

Table 18. House Counts

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
Buildings 1958	85	-	7	86
1966 (Bumpeh 1968)	124	38	14	148
Buildings in 1976	349	102	96	160
Population per house 1975	11.9	10.8	10.4	9.8
Projected total 1975/76	4,153	1,102	998	1,568
Number of women and children per house 1975	7.8	6.4	4.9	6.2
Projected total population of women and children 1975	2,714	650	471	993
Projected total 1974 (Women and children 1975 added to taxpayers 1974)	4,499	1,117	1,471	1,782

The overall increase in numbers of houses in Bumpeh, Bongema and Ndoyogbor is considerable. In Njalla the small conical huts of 1966 have been replaced by larger multi-roomed buildings, so that the actual increase in the capacity of the town is much greater than is suggested by the modest increase in the total numbers of buildings. The number of people per house, from the 1975 survey, has been multiplied by the 1976 number of buildings.[10] This is shown as the projected total 1975/76. These projections are considerably lower than the taxpayer projections made for 1974.

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10. Although the house counts and air photographs are dated as 1976 and the household survey as 1975, both took place at virtually the same time; November 1975 to March 1976 surveys, and January 1976 air photography.

Migration took place out of these towns, an occurrence reported by the chiefs of each town in 1975/76, to the Bafi area, Koidu and Tongo, as a result of declining diamond production, inflation and increased N.D.M.C. anti-I.D.M. operations. If the adult males are the most fluid sector of the population it can be expected that the numbers of women and children remained more constant over the period 1974 to 1976. Therefore, the number of women and children per house, as recorded in the 1975 survey, has been projected to give the total possible population of women and children in 1975. If this figure was the same in 1974 (in fact it is likely to be less, especially in Ndoyogbor and Bongema) and it is added to the 1974 total of taxpayers, the final projected total is less extreme. Many such projections could be made, balancing or weighting different variables. What these crude estimates do show is that considerable population increase has taken place and that all four settlements have populations substantially greater than the number in 1963.

Table 19. Area and Housing Density

		Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
A.	Area in Hectares	13.54	4.05	4.36	7.37
B.	Population per room	2.26	2.33	2.49	2.35
C.	Houses in the town	349	102	96	160
D.	Average number of rooms per house	5.28	4.66	4.16	4.19
E.	Approx. number of rooms in whole town (C xD)	1,841	475	399	670
F.	Houses per hectare (C ÷ A)	25.8	25.2	22.02	21.71
G.	Rooms per hectare (E ÷ A)	135.99	117.31	91.51	90.97
H.	Population per hectare (B x G)	307.4	273.3	227.9	213.8

Bumpeh and Ndoyogbor have larger houses with more rooms per house. This factor results in Bumpeh and then Ndoyogbor having the greatest density per house and also per hectare. Bongema is more crowded in terms of the number of people per room. The actual density per hectare is very high, a reflection of the close packed form of these small towns.

Population Characteristics in 1963

The first diamond rush of the 1950's did not immediately transform the diamond mining areas of Sierra Leone. By 1963 after the first boom had taken place, it is possible to identify many changes that had occurred in the structure of the population and the form of the towns. After the 1969/70 diamond rush many more far reaching changes took place. Migration intensified and the population characteristics of 1975/76 are substantially different from those of 1963, although they can be seen as a continuation of the same trend. This section considers the age/sex structure, place of origin, tribe and occupation of the populations of Njalla, and Bumpeh in 1963. Bongema at that time was a small farming village.[11]

The age/sex structure indicates immigration of adults, but without a marked excess of males over females; see figure 23. The proportions of children under 15 years decline quite equally from birth, owing to the high infant mortality rate, and numbers of people over 50 years form a very small proportion of the population. Percentages of males and females were as follows:

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11. 1963 Census statistics were compiled from computer line print-outs by courtesy of the Kono Road Project, Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone.

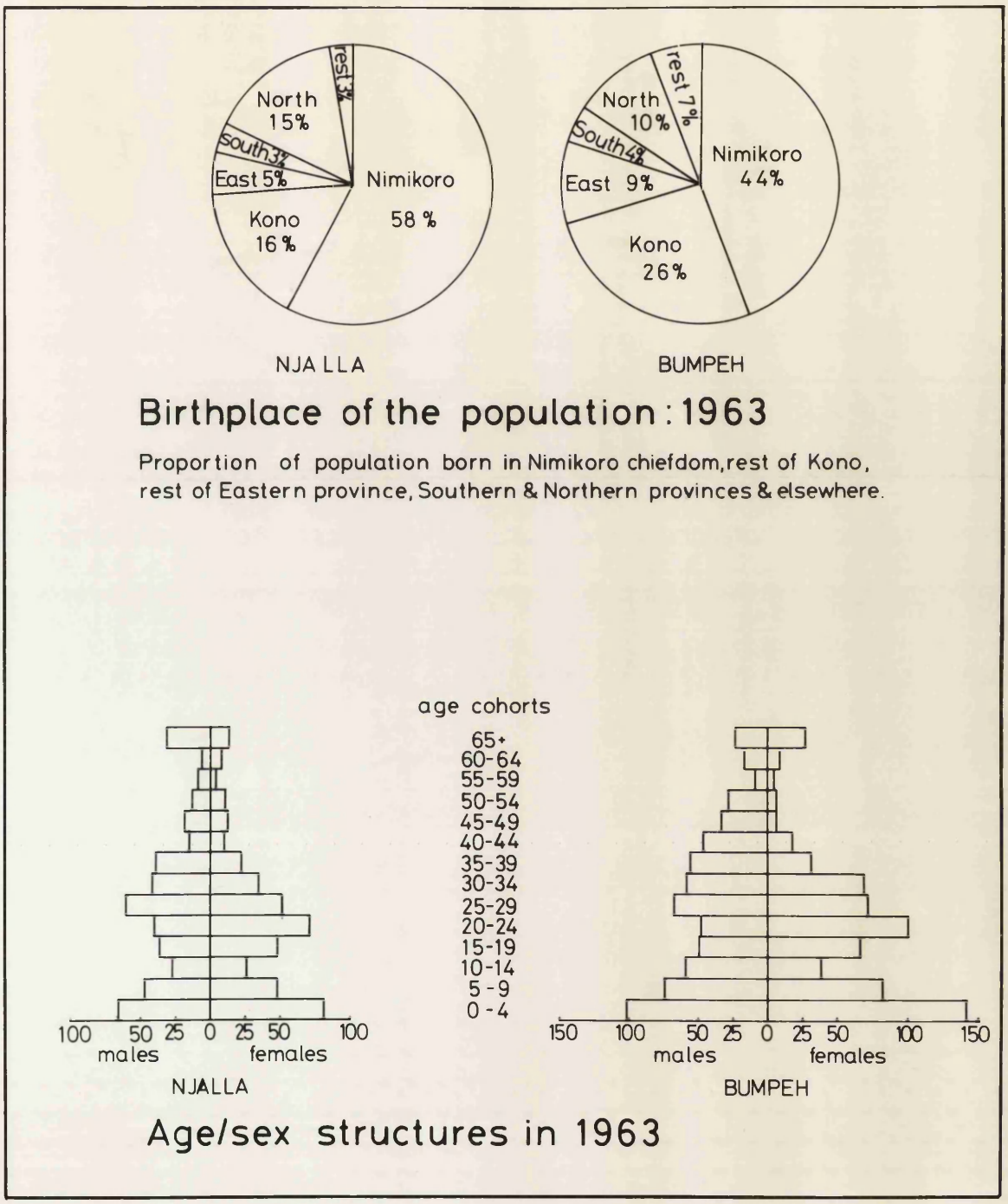

Figure 23. Birthplace and age/sex structures of Njalla and Bumpeh in 1963

Njalla	: Males	50.5%	Females	49.5%
Bumpeh	: Males	49.8%	Females	50.2%
Bongema	: Males	48.0%	Females	52.0%

Females especially outnumbered males in the 15-34 years age group in Bumpeh, accounting for 23% of the total population, although in the 15-49 age group women were equal to men. In contrast, Peyima and Sukudu in 1963 (see Chapter 6) showed an age/sex structure with strong excesses of young males, and therefore much more typical of a migrant mining area.

Table 20. Ethnic Origin of Population 1963

Tribe	Njalla	Bumpeh	Bongema
Kono	62.1	63.8	64.8
Total non-Kono	37.9	36.2	35.2
Mende	2.5	11.6	2.8
Limba	4.6	3.7	32;4
Temne	8.0	2.6	
Koranko	2.9	1.3	
Kissi	2.8	1.0	
Fula	11.6	1.2	
Mandingo	2.6	10.4	
Susu	2.1	1.1	
Others	0.8	3.2	

See figure 23 showing birthplace of the populations of Njalla and Bumpeh. As can be expected there is a strong relationship between ethnic origin and place of birth. There were many more people who had been born in Kono than the number of Kono alone. Many Mandingo, Kissi and Koranko had been in Kono

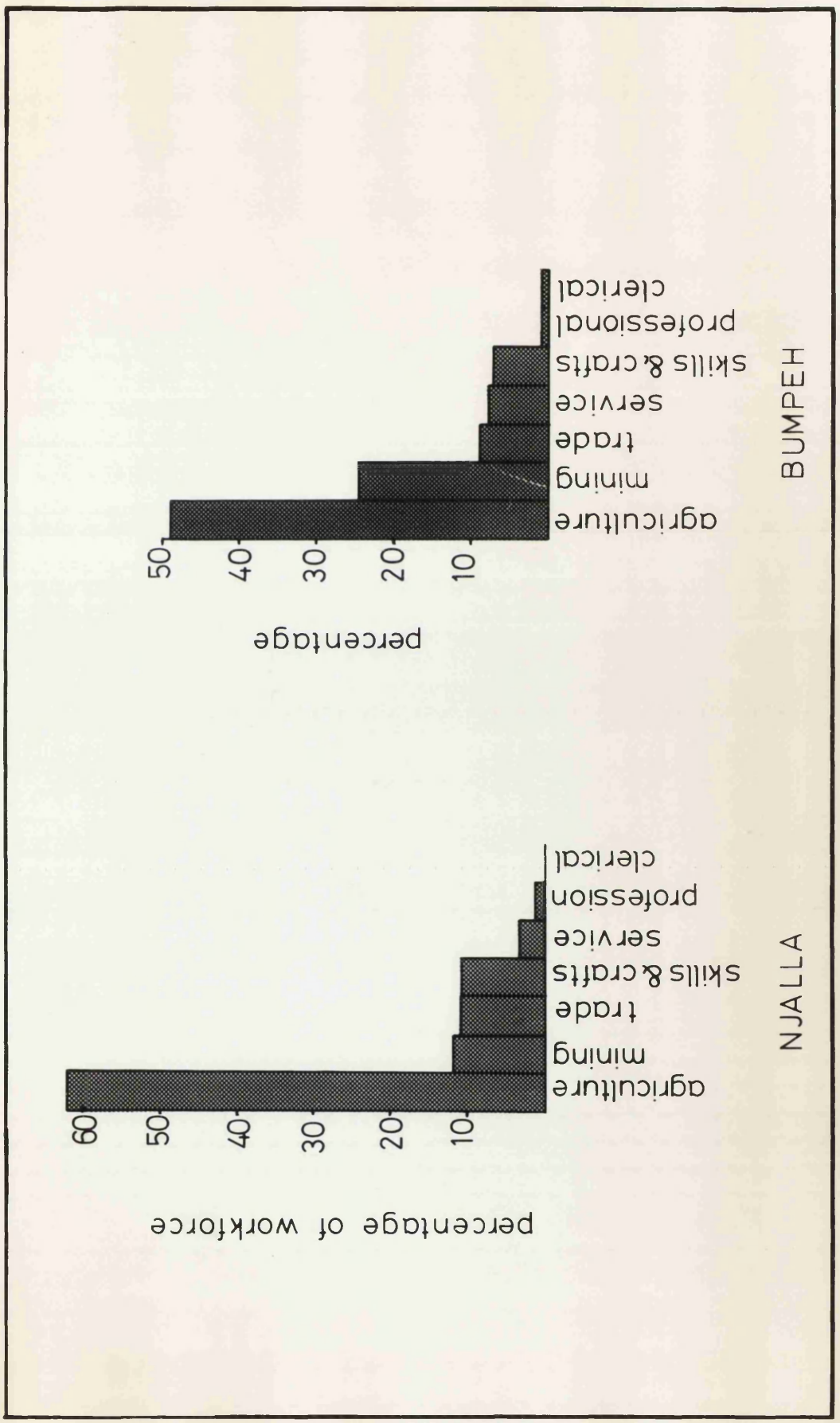

Figure 24. Occupations of the populations of Njalla and Bumpeh in 1963

since before the diamond rush, and often the children of non-Kono immigrants had been born in Kono. Large immigrant groups were Mende, Temne, Mandingo and Fula. The high proportion of Limba in Bongema were small in number, the total population of the village only being 71, and they were engaged in farming and palm wine tapping. There were few declared non-Sierra Leonean , but a number who gave their nationality as Sierra Leonean were recorded in the census as having been born in Guinea. The category of 'others' is mainly accounted for by people born outside Sierra Leone. The most important place of origin outside Kono was the Northern Province, with most of theimmigrants coming from Bombali District. By 1975 (see section on adult males 1975/76) the main district of emigration had become Koinadugu. In 1963 the Kono were clearly dominant, with the majority of the population of Njalla having been born in Nimikoro, while in Bumpeh also the largest proportion of the population had been born in Nimikoro.

Figure 24 shows the occupations of the people of Njalla and Bumpeh. In Bongema 34% of the population were listed as having an occupation. Of these 92% were in agriculture and there was one policeman and one diamond digger accounting for the other 8%. Occupations are categorised as in the 1963 Census. The industry category includes anyone who worked for S.L.S.T., but the numbers who were not diggers or labourers were very small. Skilled trades include tailors and carpenters, but also extends to butchers and bakers as these people do not usually indulge in other forms of trade and often sell their goods wholesale. Services include transport workers, building labourers, servants and police.

Traders are store owners and their assistants in retailing premises or itinerant pedlars and market stall holders. It was not possible to identify diamond dealers, but it is certain that some people in those places were buying and selling diamonds. They may be disguised in the categories of traders or diamond miners. It is also likely that agriculture disguises many illicit miners.

The industrial occupation was predominantly diamond digging and labouring, but Bumpeh with its S.L.S.T. camp had some technical and trained workers. In agriculture men described themselves as farmers, and women as farm workers. A few other rural activities like palm wine tapping, hunting and forestry were also included in this group, but accounted for very few people. Njalla in 1963 was dominated by farming, with a relatively small mining sector. Although occupation figures include both men and women who had occupations, most of the workforce listed in the census consisted of men. A lot of men do not like their wives working, even when they do, and so the women tend to play down their roles as farmers or traders (Rosen 1974).

The age/sex structure of Bumpeh is complex. The large proportions of young women in the town may be explained by the presence of S.L.S.T. employees who felt secure or stable enough to bring their wives to live with them; also there is the likelihood that many illicit miners avoided being counted; and the fact that many illicit miners lived in small settlements outside the town, close to the diamond workings. Bongema was clearly a rural village where an excess of females was less unusual. In the whole of Nimikoro chiefdom, including many villages in Gorama section out-

side the diamond area, males formed 54.5% of the population. Out of 130 settlements in the chiefdom 92, or 71%, had more males than females.

It is useful to isolate the males aged 15 to 49 years in Bumpeh, to study their characteristics separately. Many more of these young men came from outside Kono than did the rest of the population. Of the young men 26% were from Nimikoro and 33.5% from the rest of Kono, so that even then 60% were from Kono. A further 15% came from the Northern Province, 13% from the rest of the Eastern Province and 10% from outside Sierra Leone. The tribal structure showed a dominance of Kono 57%, with Mende 15.5%, Mandingo 8.5%, Limba 4.5%, Temne 3.9%, and all others 11%. Occupations, however, showed a greater emphasis towards mining. Of this age group, 83% had some sort of occupation and 36% of all young male workers claimed to be employed by S.L.S.T. The workforce consisted of professional and clerical 3.1%, services 8.5%, skilled trades 10.5%, traders 11%, industry 31% and agriculture 39%. Apart from showing the importance of mining in Bumpeh, this analysis also indicates that the young men are more involved in mining and migration than the population as a whole.

In the following Table (Table 21) the proportion of people without any occupations is fairly high, probably accounted for by the substantial numbers of women and children in these towns. In Njalla there were fewer non-Kono without occupations than Kono. Agriculture was dominated by the Kono. In Njalla 94% of all the Koranko in the town were farming. In Njalla most diamond diggers were non-Kono, with 72% of all diggers being Temne and Kissi. In Bumpeh most miners were Kono. S.L.S.T. workers were mainly Kono

and Mende, thus accounting for thelarger proportion of Kono miners to be found in an S.L.S.T. camp than in an I.D.M. settlement. Most of the Mende in Bumpeh worked for S.L.S.T. While 37% of the total population of Bumpeh had jobs, 42% of the Mende were employed. Of clerical, professional and skilled industrial jobs listed in Bumpeh, 38% were held by Mende, and 33% by Kono. Trading was almost completely out of Kono hands. In Bumpeh 77% of all traders were Fula, Mandingo and non-Sierra Leonean (also often Fula and Mandingo). In Njalla 68% of all traders were Fula and Limba.

Table 21. Occupation related to Ethnic Origin (Kono/Non-Kono) in Bumpeh and Njalla in 1963.

All figures in percentages	Bumpeh		Njalla	
Occupation	Kono	Non-Kono	Kono	Non-Kono
Professions	-	1.0	0.3	1.2
Clerical	0.4	0.8	-	-
Agriculture	47.1	9.0	44.6	15.2
Industry	13.2	8.0	2.0	6.7
Skilled Trades	4.6	5.4	4.9	6.4
Services	3.6	3.4	3.8	1.2
Trading	1.8	7.6	2.6	11.1
Total workforce	64.7	35.2	58.2	41.8
Without any occupation	61.6	64.1	64.7	56.3

There were many instances in Bumpeh and Njalla, as well as Peyima and Sukudu, of most of the people of one ethnic group being engaged in the same occupation, suggesting that migration had taken place in order to seek that specific job and that the ethnic communities may often be closely linked or from the same area.

House Construction

During 1976 the household questionnaire employed in the diamond mining settlements was used in six small rural villages (ranks 6 and 7 only), in southern Nimikoro chiefdom. This showed that there were 6.4 persons per house, 2 rooms per house and 3.3 persons per room, on average. The ratios of men, women and children were in the proportions of 28% men, 29% women and 43% children under 15 years. The water supply in these villages was entirely from rivers or streams. The walls of the houses were all built of mud and wattle, only 23% of the buildings having corrugated iron (pan) roofs with the rest having thatched roofs, and all buildings had earth floors. Thus the village buildings are small and employ only a limited use of modern or imported materials.

The 1969 household surveys of the rural areas of Eastern Province include small villages as well as larger villages and small towns. The characteristics shown in the rural survey give an average of villages and small towns up to the size of mining settlements throughout Eastern Province. In 1969 the average number of persons per household was 6.9, (Rural Household Survey 1969, Table 1). Detached houses had 1.3 rooms per building and 2.7 persons per room, square huts 2.2 rooms per building and 1.6 persons per room, while round huts had 1.5 rooms per building and 2.9 persons per room (Rural Household Survey 1969, Table 23). Of all the buildings in Eastern Province 81% were defined as detached houses, 8% as round huts and 5% square huts (Rural Household Survey 1969, Table 17). Construction of the buildings showed that 86% had pan roofs, 66% of all floors were concrete

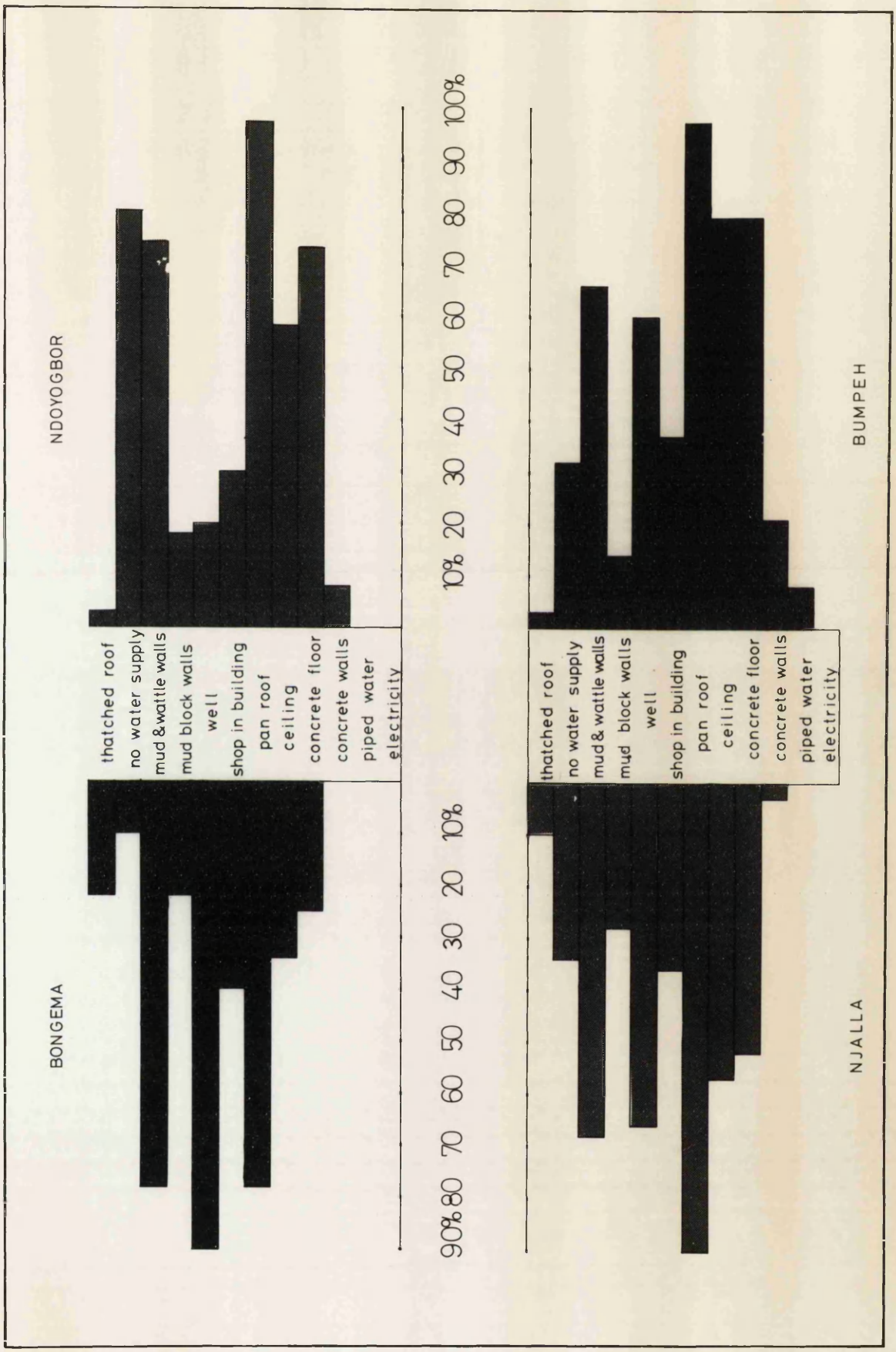

Figure 25. House construction and amenities in 1975

and 18% of earth, with 16% of walls built of concrete, 2% of wood and concrete, ½% of corrugated iron, 54% of mud and wattle and 27% of mud (Rural Household Survey 1969, Table 18). Statistics on the age of the buildings showed that 27% were less than five years old, 47% were six to ten years old, 21% eleven to twenty five years old and 5% older than twenty six years or not known (Rural Household Survey 1969, Table 19). Water supplies in the rural areas consisted of 6.2% tapped water, 36.1% wells, and 57.7% rivers or streams (Rural Household Survey 1969, Table 21).

Table 22 shows amenities and house construction in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76. Figure 25 shows the same statistics as a bar graph, in which the different factors have been ranked according to their indication of levels of modernisation.

Table 22. House Construction and Amenities

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
No water supply	32	80	10	34
Well	60	20	90	66
Piped Water	8	-	-	-
Electricity	-	-	-	-
Shop in Building	37	30	40	36
Concrete floor	79	73	25	52
Ceiling	79	58	34	57
Pan Roof	97	97	78	90
Thatched Roof	3	3	22	10
Concrete Walls	21	8	-	3
Mud Block Walls	14	18	22	28
Mud & Wattle Walls	66	74	78	68

(All figures are in percentages)

On figure 25 the rural villages could be expected to show higher values at the top of the graph, while more modern or ur-

banised settlements would have higher values at the bottom. The two extreme types of house construction could be epitomised as a rural village house with thatched roof, no water supply (i.e. relying upon a stream), and mud and wattle walls; and a town house having electricity, piped water supply, concrete walls, concrete floor, ceiling and pan roof. The figures shown in the table and the graph give the percentages of each characteristic out of the total number of buildings surveyed. The same characteristics on Table 22 are grouped as - water supply, electricity, shops, floor, ceiling, roof and walls. The percentage of shops is fairly consistent in all the settlements. The shop is often one room at the front of the building or possibly a stall on the verandah. Figure 25 indicates that Bongema and Ndoyogbor are marginally less developed than Bumpeh and Njalla.[12]

Table 22 shows the widespread use of pan roofs and of ceilings. Roof space in rural huts is extensively used for storage and for the dispersal of smoke during indoor cooking. The use of a false ceiling, with a pan roof, improves insulation and precludes use of the roof space as a daily agricultural and implement store. The use of concrete floors, along with pan roofs, ceilings and walls suggests the permanence of the buildings. Thus no longer do the diamond boom settlements consist of rapidly constructed digger huts, but instead they are settlements with substantial multi-roomed houses.

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12. A question on the provision of latrines was omitted from the questionnaire. Observation and aerial photographs suggest that construction and use of pit latrines is widespread. The 1969 household survey of the Eastern Province Rural Areas, Table 21, states that 61% of all dwellings had pit latrines.

Table 23. Age of construction of the buildings in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76

Year of Erection	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
Post 1971	20	32	47	22
1966-70	21	34	34	17
1961-65	20	24	12	14
1956-60	18	3	3	17
1951-55	12	8	3	21
Pre-1950	9	-	-	8

All figures are in percentages

The period of greatest building boom indicates the period of greatest immigration and settlement. Njalla clearly shows the two growth periods of the mid 1950's diamond rush and the 1969/70 rush. Bumpeh has grown faster since the early 1960's when the new main road was built. Both Ndoyogbor and Bongema boomed as illicit settlements during and after the second major diamond rush and so most of their houses were built in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Most houses that existed before 1950 are not likely to have lasted until thepresent day, especially if constructed of mud and wattle with thatched roofs. Some of the later building must include the rebuilding of older houses.

Table 24. Numbers of multi-building households in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76.

Figures in Percentages	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
Households with more than 1 house	25	20	40	24
Houses with more than 10 rooms	3	-	-	-

In the rural villages 81% of households in Nimikoro in 1976 had more than one building. In the towns, houses are bigger with more

rooms, though seldom above ten rooms, and family households are more often concentrated into one building. This is also borne out by the later case studies in Peyima, Sukudu and Koidu.

An important conclusion from this section is the permanence of the buildings, obviously proving the greater wealth available, but also indicative of people who are settling down to live in these towns. It is important to relate this to house ownership and the type of person who is the householder.

The Household

Of the 831 households surveyed in all the case study settlements, there was one building in Bongema where the occupants, almost all young men, were mostly unrelated and where some did not even know the names or origins of the other men who shared the same room. Most of these people were illicit diamond miners who had only recently migrated from Koinadugu or Guinea. However, even in this place there was one senior man, of the same tribe as the majority of the occupants, who took the rent from the lodgers and who knew roughly who they were and where they came from. This was the loosest example of the household in all seven case study towns. The 1969 government household survey would probably have defined each individual as a separate household (Rural Household Survey 1969).

In a society that is based upon the extended family system, a family compound or house may often contain several sub-groups, relatives and even unrelated members of the same clan or tribe. Where there are several wives it might be the system in one family for each wife to cook her own food separately for her immediate children and dependants, while in another family all the women may

co-operate to cook centrally for the whole household.[13] A household definition based on such small economic units for food preparation is more convenient for the kind of detailed economic survey carried out in the 1969 household surveys, but it does not give a true picture of the larger household that is typical of Sierra Leone. Consequently a household here is defined in relation to a patriarch or matriarch, to whom all other people living in the same house or adjacent group of houses, owe some sort of allegiance by blood, marriage or contract, such as an employee or lodger. As a result of this different definition the household size of the 1975/76 survey is larger than that of the 1969 household surveys carried out by the government.

Table 25. Household size and family structure in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
Average size of household	15.1	13.7	16.6	12.5
% of all male households	2	0	5	4
% households with no children	7	7	15	8
% men related to head of household	28	28	32	46
% women related to head of household	34	25	No figure	52
% of female household heads	2	0	0	8

In the rural villages of Nimikoro in 1976, the average household size was 18.8 persons. The 1969 household surveys showed a relationship between household size and ethnic origin (Rural Household Survey 1969, Table 6). Other factors affecting household

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13. A farmer in eastern Kono built a dormitory for his forty wives, twenty along each side wall and all the children in the middle, yet each women prepared food separately for herself and her children, who she also clothed from her own earnings.

size are immigration, family and age/sex structure, so that the reasons for the high figures in Bumpeh and Bongema are different: in Bumpeh it is a likely response to larger families, as well as immigration, and in Bongema the result of immigration.

Of more significance is the very small proportion of households without women and/or children. The proportions both of men and women related to the head of the household are quite high, although in the small rural villages of Nimikoro 87% of men and 54% of women were related to the household head. This excludes relationship by marriage. These figures show that the households of the boom towns are largely family units, although they do also contain large numbers of unrelated migrants. The final line of the table records the small proportion of female householders.

Table 26. Employment relationships in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, and Njalla in 1975/76.[14]

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Njalla
% of households containing men working for head of household	42%	50%	46%
Average number of men working for head of household in each household	3.4	3.2	3.2
% of men working for head of household	33%	34%	40%

Relationships of employment by the householder are especially important in occupations like mining and agriculture. Some employees are agricultural labourers for the head of the household.

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14. A more complicated question concerning employment and relationships, asked in Bongema, caused confusion and so the figures have been discarded as unreliable.

Where the householder is a diamond dealer, arrangement master or licensee, the men in his house who work for him often do so as diamond diggers. Tables 25 and 26 show that a large percentage of the men in all the towns are either related directly to the head of the household or employed by him.

Table 27. Age/sex ratios by percentage in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76.

	Bumpeh		Ndoyogbor		Bongema		Njalla	
Males over 15 years	316	35%	170	41%	175	53%	232	37%
Females over 15 years	261	29%	107	26%	69	21%	167	27%
Children under 15 years	330	36%	135	33%	88	26%	224	36%
Total	907	100	412	100	332	100	623	100

Proportions of women and children arehigher in the more established towns of Bumpeh and Njalla than in the recent boom settlements of Bongema and Ndoyogbor. Bongema especially shows the population characteristics of a diamond boom town, but even then there is a substantial proportion of women and children for a town so young. All settlements, including Bumpeh by 1975/76, show a marked excess of males over females.

In the following table (Table 28) in all three settlements there is a high proportion of house ownership and large numbers of Kono who own their own houses. The higher number of Kono who rent houses in Bumpeh includes N.D.M.C. employees who live rent free in the mining camp. A considerable proportion of non-Kono also own their houses, which is a further indication of the extent to which these people have invested and settled in the area.

Table 28. House ownership by Ethnic Group in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76.[15]

	Bumpeh		Ndoyogbor		Njalla	
Household Heads	Own	Rent	Own	Rent	Own	Rent
Total Own/Rent	43	17	24	6	38	12
% of Total Households	72%	28%	80%	20%	76%	24%
Kono Own/Rent	23	6	17	-	29	2
% of Kono Own/Rent	79%	21%	100%		94%	6%
Total Non-Kono Own/Rent	20	11	7	6	9	10
% of Non-Kono Own/Rent	65%	35%	54%	46%	47%	53%
Fula	1	1	4	2	7	6
Kissi	1					
Mandingo	7	1	2	2		2
Mende		2			1	1
Temne	6	2			1	
Other Sierra Leonean	1	3	1			1
Other West African	4	2		2		

Table 29. Ethnic diversity of households in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
Number of households	60	30	20	50
Average number of ethnic groups per household	2.13	2.50	2.25	1.58
1 Ethnic Group	25	7	7	29
% with 1	42%	23%	35%	58%
2 Groups	18	10	4	15
% with 2	30%	33%	20%	30%
3 Groups	10	8	6	4
% with 3	17%	27%	30%	8%
4 Groups	3	3	3	2
% with 4	5%	10%	15%	4%
5 Groups	2			
% with 5	3%			
6 Groups		2		
% with 6		7%		
7 or 8 Groups	2			
% with 7 or 8	3%			

15. House ownership was not asked for in Bongema.

Much inter-tribal marriage has occurred in central Kono, and tribal barriers have been greatly reduced by the mixing together of so many ethnic groups, united by the common purpose of getting rich. Cultural ideas common to different tribal groups, such as Islam, have emerged as uniting influences. The language of communication in the towns of the diamond fields has become Krio, while many people speak other West African languages than their own. The table shows the considerable diversity of ethnic groups in individual households. It is usual for most households to be dominated by one ethnic group, but with other peoples also present.

So the household of the central Kono diamond mining towns is an ethnically diverse group of people, with large proportions of men but also with a definite family structure. Many men are either related to or employed by the head of the household, while most women are either related or married to someone in the household. Although a large proportion of houses are owned by Kono people, householders of other immigrant ethnic groups also own their own houses, so adding to the picture of a more stable family system than might be suggested by the boom conditions of diamond rush towns or the slump of ghost towns.

Adult Males

Every adult male in each of the households surveyed in 1975/76 was asked to state his ethnic group, place of birth, previous place of residence, occupation and the length of time he had been living in that particular town. This information is tabulated to show the relationships between ethnic group, migration and occupation.

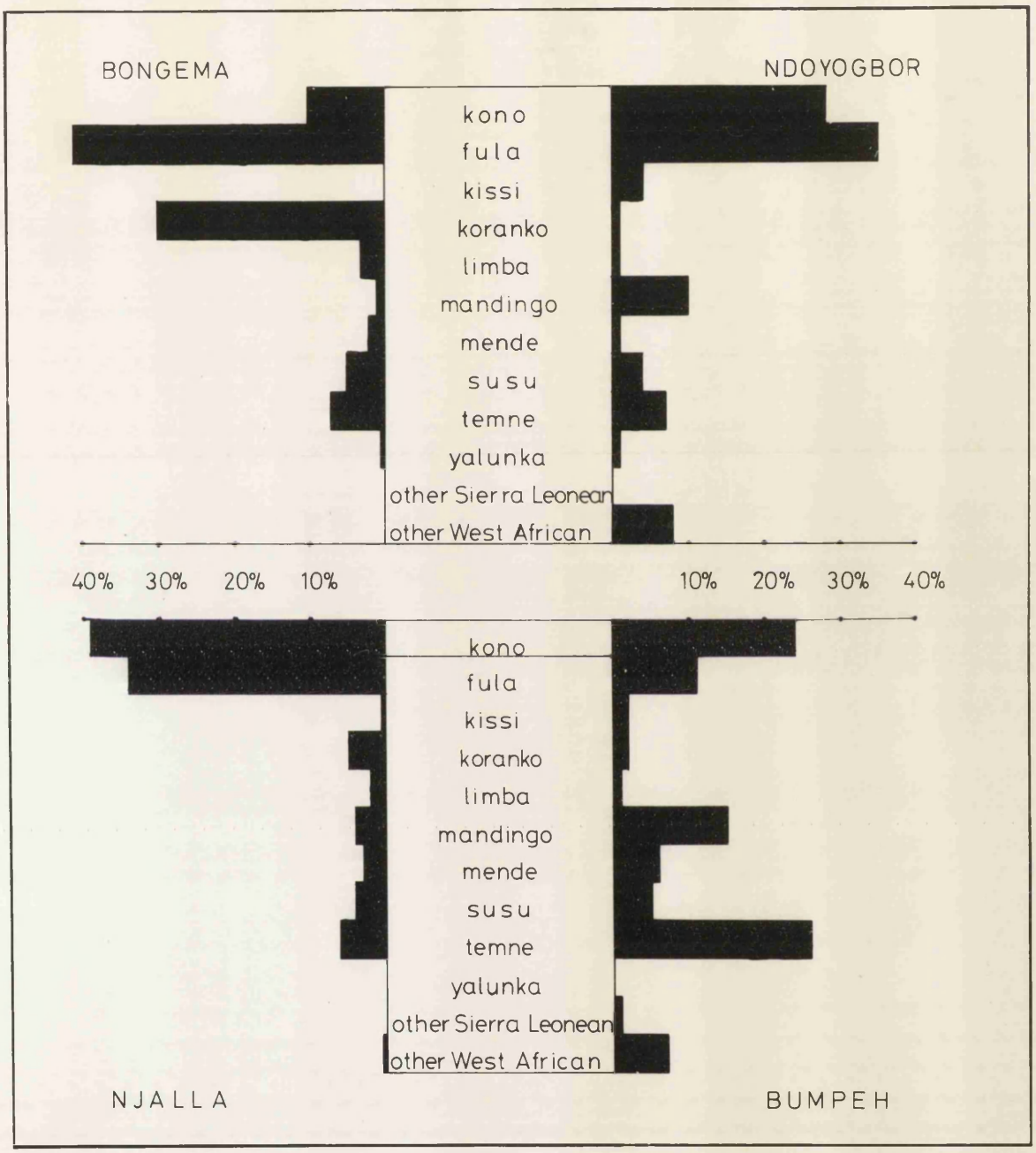

Figure 26. Ethnic origins of adult male populations in 1975

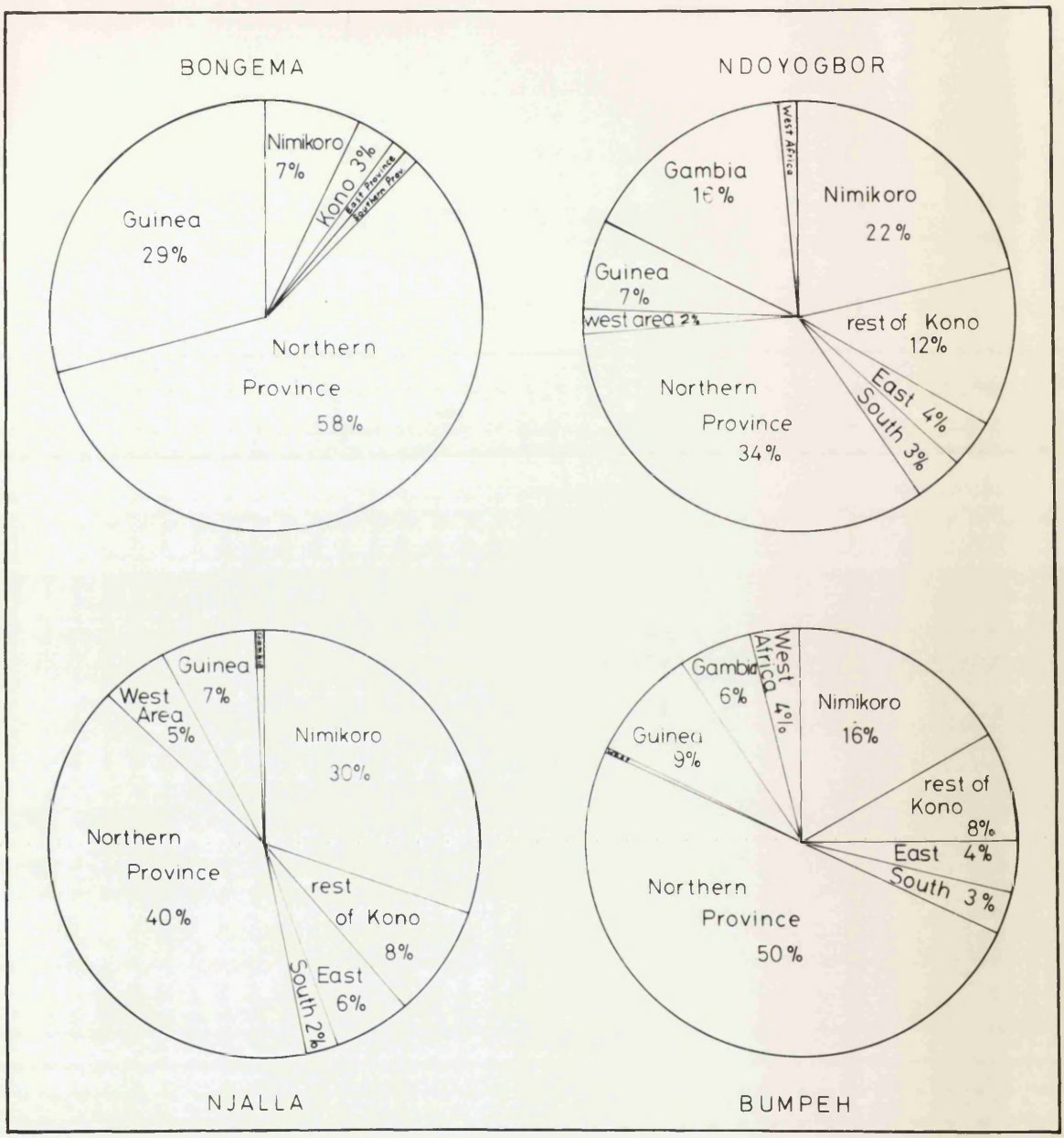

Figure 27. Birthplace of adult male populations in 1975

Figure 26 shows the ethnic group of the populations of Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla. Although the Kono are still the largest group in Njalla, they only make up 39% of the adult men, with Fula 34%. In Bumpeh there are more Temne, 26%, than Kono, who make up 24%. In both Bongema and Ndoyogbor the Fula are the largest tribal group, 41% and 35% of the populations respectively. Both the Fula and the Koranko in Bongema are mainly from Koinadugu District and Guinea. Although Kono are a minority in all of the towns, 56% of all the household heads in Njalla are Kono, in Ndoyogbor 60% and Bumpeh 49%. In Bongema, however, 50% of all household heads are Koranko, who mostly accommodate immigrant Fula.

Figure 27 shows the birthplace of the adult male population. The largest proportions of men in all four towns had come from the Northern Province. The main district of emigration for migrants in Bumpeh, was Bombali, hence the larger numbers of Temnes there. In Bumpeh 20% of the men had come from that one district. In the other three towns the most important district of origin was Koinadugu, accounting for 18% of the men in Njalla, 25% in Ndoyogbor and 32% in Bongema. The numbers of men from Nimikoro and the rest of Kono in Njalla and Bumpeh were virtually the same as in 1963. The proportion had decreased so drastically as a result of the immense immigration from the Northern Province, especially in Bumpeh and Bongema. The proportion of men from Guinea and Gambia is also quite remarkable, especially in Bongema and Ndoyogbor. The Eastern and Southern Provinces account for so few of the migrants because of their own diamond deposits. This also ex-

plains why relatively so few Mende have migrated into Kono.

All migrants who had not been born in the case study town in which they were currently living, stated the number of years and/or months that they had lived there. This is tabulated below, showing the average length of time lived in the town, excluding those men who had been born and spent all of their lives there.

Table 30. Average Length of Time Spent in Nimikoro Case Study Towns by Migrants

	Bumpeh		Ndoyogbor	
Average length of time spent in the town in years	Kono	Non-Kono	Kono	Non-Kono
	19.8	11.3	7	4.7
	Bongema		Njalla	
Average length of time spent in the town in years	Kono	Non-Kono	Kono	Non-Kono
	0.6	0.9	10.0	4.8

In Bongema only three Kono had recently migrated into the area. In all towns the men who had been born and always lived there, were mostly Kono, and were usually farmers. This was especially so in Bongema where the other 14 Kono present in the village had always lived there, and continued to farm in the way they had always known, surrounded by hundreds of illicit miners. The general trend amongst all migrants is that the Kono had lived in each place for a longer period of time than the non-Kono . Many of the non-Kono migrants clearly came during the 1969/70 diamond rush. Bongema presented the most amazing instances of migration, where many of the young Fula and Koranko men counted the time they had been in the place, and indeed in Kono District, in days.

Table 31 shows the proportion of migrants to have come from other diamond mining areas, and currently resident in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76. Inter-diamond area migrants are any men who were previously resident in other diamondiferous chiefdoms, including diamondiferous parts of Bo, and Kenema Districts, but excluding natives of all these areas.

Table 31. Inter-Diamond Area Migrants in Nimikoro Case Studies

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
Total Number of men surveyed	302	162	171	204
Total Number of migrants	252	127	159	142
Total Number of inter-diamond area migrants	124	66	99	44
Inter-diamond area migrants as % of total males	41%	41%	58%	22%
Inter-diamond area migrants as % of total migrants	49%	52%	62%	31%
% of non-Konos previously resident elsewhere in Kono	46%	51%	62%	31%
% of migrants previously resident in North Province	31%	27%	28%	43%

If the inter-diamond area migrants represent a floating population moving from place to place in search of good diamond mining, then Bongema and Ndoyogbor have the most fluid populations, with Bumpeh close behind. At the other extreme Njalla has the highest percentage of non-Konos who came directly from the Northern Province and the lowest proportion of migrants who had lived elsewhere in the diamond mining areas. Some of the inter-diamond area migrants in Bongema had in fact moved from Njalla. There is a close relationship between the percentage of non-Konos previously

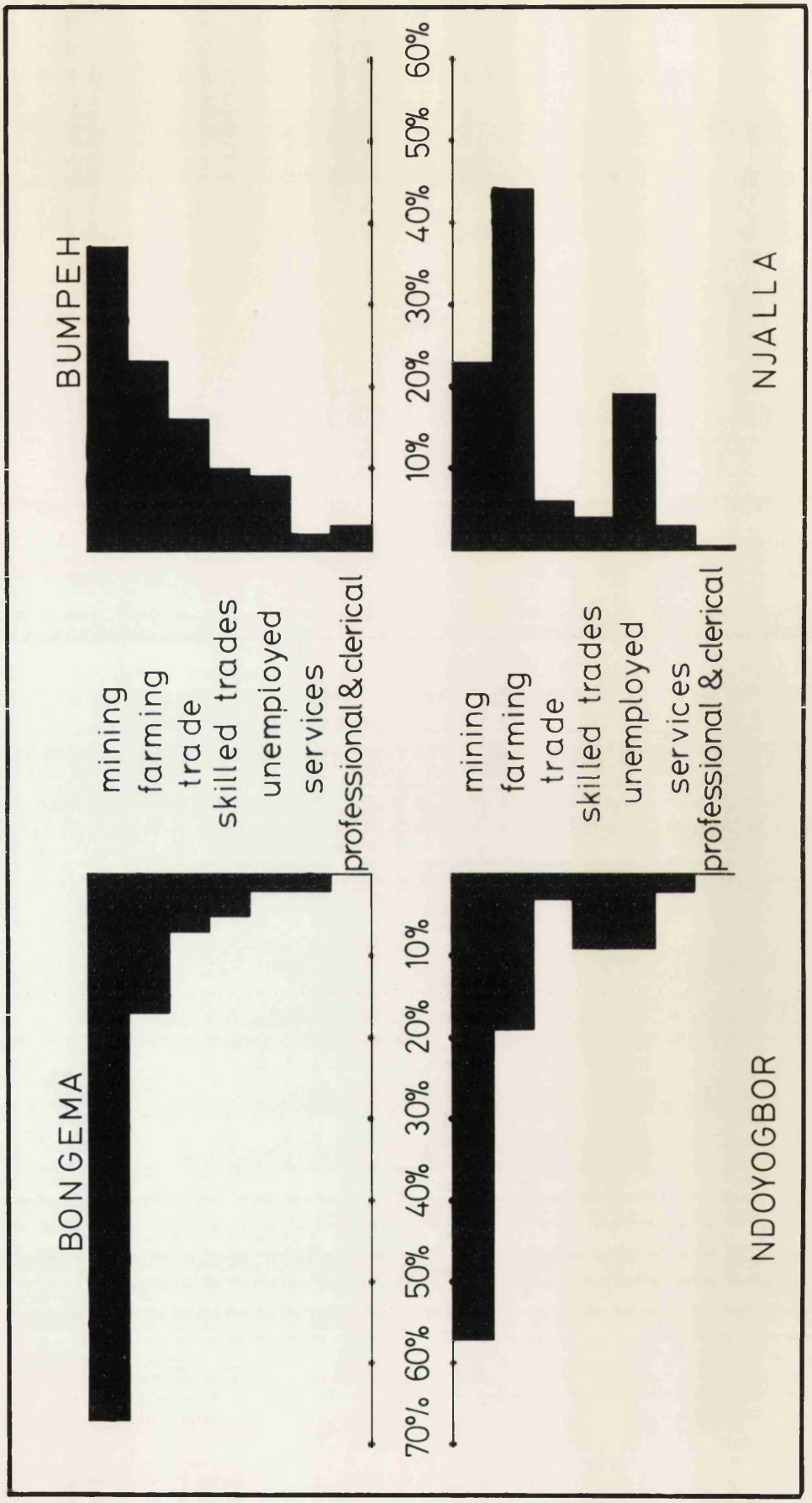

Figure 28. Occupations of adult male populations in 1975

resident elsewhere in Kono and the percentage of inter-diamond area migrants. This indicates that most diamond area migrants moving into these towns of Nimikoro had come from other mining areas of Kono, and very few from the mining areas of Kenema and Bo Districts. The percentage of migrants who had worked elsewhere in the diamond areas is quite high; between 31% in Njalla and 62% in Bongema. As the fluid sector of the population they might represent the proportion likely to move on again when times get bad. However, the percentage of the men not previously involved in inter-diamond area migration is even higher in Njalla, while proportions are virtually equal in Bumpeh and Ndoyogbor. These men could as easily represent a migrant sector, which being less mobile, may be inclined to stay in the area, even after the diamond deposits have been exhausted, possibly owing to family commitments or just inertia.

Figure 28 shows the occupations[16] of the workforces of Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76, indicating that Ndoyogbor and Bongema are dominated by diamond mining. Mining is also the main occupation in Bumpeh, where there is a more even distribution of occupations. Njalla is still very agricultural although more men are involved in mining than in 1963. Agriculture is dominated by Kono .

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16. Occupation groups are exactly the same as those defined earlier in relation to the 1963 Census figures.

Table 32. Kono Domination of Agriculture in Nimikoro Case Studies 1975/76.

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
% of Konos in agriculture	75	62	94	71
% of farmers etc., who are Kono	74	90	55	56

Most Kono are farmers and most farmers are Kono. Two other occupations with strong ethnic relationships are diamond mining and dealing, and trading.

Table 33. Diamond Mining and Dealing in Nimikoro Case Studies 1975/76.

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Nongema	Njalla
Male population of each town	302	162	171	204
Number of private sector miners (A.D.M.S. & I.D.M.)	118	76	117	55
% of private sector miners of male population	39%	47%	68%	27%
Number of diamond dealers	5	14	0	2
Total number of dealers and miners (inc. N.D.M.C.)	125	90	117	60
% of miners and dealers of total population	41%	56%	68%	29%

This table adds little to the information recorded in figure 28 except in making a breakdown between I.D.M./A.D.M.S. miners, and dealers. Of the 14 diamond dealers in Ndoyogbor 11 were Wolof from the Gambia. This is very much a specialised trade for the Wolof, or Maraka , of whom a large proportion in Kono are diamond dealers and occasionally smugglers.

Table 34. Diamond mining by Ethnic Group in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76.

		Kono	Fula	Kissi	Koranko	Limba	Mandingo	Mende	Susu	Temne	Yalunka	Other Sierra Leonean	Other West African	Total
Bongema	A Total each tribe	17	70		51	6	2	4	8	12	1			171
	B Number mining		55		41	1		2	8	9	1			117
	C % miners by tribe $\frac{B}{Tot.B.}$		47%		35%	1%		2%	7%	8%	1%			100%
	D % of each tribe mining $\frac{B}{A}$	0	79%		80%	17%	0	50%	100%	75%	100%			
	E % of total mining		32%		24%									68%
Ndoyogbor	A Total each tribe	45	57	6	2	1	17	1	7	11	2	-	13	162
	B Number mining	12	40	6	2		3		7	8	1		11	90
	C % miners by tribe	13	44	7	2		3		8	9	1		12	100%
	D % of each tribe mining	27	70	100	100	0	18	0	100	75	50		85	
	E % of total mining		25											56%
Bumpeh	A Total each tribe	72	35	5	7	3	44	19	15	78	-	2	22	302
	B Number mining	11	24	1	2	1	12	9	9	44		1	11	125
	C % miners by tribe	9	19	1	2	1	10	7	7	35		1	9	100%
	D % of each tribe mining	15	69	20	29	33	27	47	60	56		50	50	
	E % of total mining		8							15				41%
Njalla	A Total each tribe	80	70	1	10	4	9	7	9	13	-	-	1	204
	B Number mining	9	22	1	5	1	7	4	1	10				60
	C % miners by tribe	15	37	2	8	2	12	7	2	17				100%
	D % of each tribe mining	11	31	100	50	25	78	57	11	77			0	
	E % of total mining		11											29%

Line C of the table shows the percentages of diamond miners broken down into ethnic proportions. Line E shows the percentage of diamond miners of particular tribes out of the total adult male population. For example, 32% of all the men in Bongema are Fula diamond diggers, and 24% are Koranko diamond diggers, while 68% of the whole population is engaged in diamond digging. In Ndoyogbor 25% of the adult male

population also consists of Fula diamond diggers. In Bumpeh 8% are Fula diamond diggers, 15% Temne and in Njalla 11% are Fula diggers. The dominant ethnic groups in diamond digging in central Nimikoro are thus Fula, Koranko and Temne. Line D shows the percentage of each ethnic group engaged in diamond mining. In each place small proportions of Kono are digging diamonds. The only immigrant group showing a low percentage engaged in diamond mining are the Limba, who often make a good living out of palm wine tapping in the diamond areas. Otherwise the general pattern is that very high proportions of all immigrant groups in each town are engaged in diamond mining.

Table 35. Trading by Ethnic Group in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76.

		Kono	Fula	Kissi	Koranko	Limba	Mandingo	Mende	Susu	Temne	Yalunka	Other Sierra Leonean	Other West African	Total	
Bongema	A Total per tribe	17	70	-	51	6	2	4	8	12	1	-	-	171	
	B Number of traders		11		1		1	1						14	
	C % traders per tribe		16		2		50	25						8.2%	
Ndoyogbor	A Total per tribe	45	57	6	2	1	17	1	7	11	2	-	13	162	
	B Number of traders	1	8				6		3	4			1	23	
	C % traders per tribe	2	14				35		43	36			8	14.2%	
Bumpeh	A Total per tribe	72	35	5	7	3	44	19	15	78	-	2	22	302	
	B Number of traders	1	4				9	2	1	18			10	45	
	C % traders per tribe	1	11				20	10	7	23			45	14.9%	
Njalla	A Total per tribe	80	70	1	10	4	9	7	9	13	-	-	1	204	
	B Number of traders	3	8				1			1				13	
	C % traders per tribe	4	11				11			8				6.4%	

To summarise this table, most traders in Njalla are Fula, in Bumpeh Temne, Mandingo and other West Africans (mainly Gambians), in

Ndoyogbor Fula, Mandingo and Temne and in Bongema mainly Fula. Line C on the table shows the percentage of each ethnic group who are engaged in trading. In all four towns the highest consistent proportions occur amongst the Fula, Mandingo and Temne, as well as large percentages of Mende, Susu and Gambians engaged in trading in some of the places.

These three occupations, farming, mining and trading, represent the main occupational groups in central Kono. A similar relationship exists between ethnic group and occupation amongst the women of these towns.

Women and Children

Only a small proportion of women had an occupation which earned money or contributed support from outside the household. Most women were housewives, but the small number who did work outside the family compound were asked to state their ethnic group and occupation in the survey questionnaire. In the rural villages of Nimikoro, in 1976, 89 women were surveyed. Between them they had 128 children under 15 years, or 1.4 children per woman. All of the women were Kono and 88 of them worked as farm workers.

This sort of proportion of working women declines considerably in the more urban areas. The number of children under 15 years per woman and the percentage of women with occupations in each of Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla are tabulated below.

	Bumpeh	Ndoyogbor	Bongema	Njalla
Children under 15 years per woman	1.26	1.26	1.27	1.34
% of women with occupations	17%	13%	64%	31%

The ratio of women to children is consistent. The higher proportion of women who work in Njalla can be expected because of the importance of agriculture in the place, and because of the traditional place of women in the work of farming. The proportion engaged in work in Bongema is quite exceptional. This is possibly due to the small number of women in the town, ensuring that a larger proportion of them are involved in the customary female activities of farming, trade and food preparation. The high proportion may also be related to the excess money available in the boom conditions of Bongema. A breakdown relating occupations to ethnic groups in each town is useful in understanding the patterns of female involvement in each community.

Table 36 shows the occupations of women by ethnic group in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla in 1975/76. In Njalla there was one 'native doctor', who is included in the total for that town, but who is not listed on the table as she was the only woman surveyed in all four settlements who was not involved in trade or agriculture.

The table shows that most women are engaged in farming and in particular most Kono women are farm workers. Trading was predominantly a non-Kono activity, also the same pattern as that of the men. Temne women are heavily involved in trading, usually as market sellers. It is relatively rare for any Fula women in a town to be allowed by her husband to work. Farming, though, is quite acceptable for a Fula woman. The large numbers of working women in Bongema, of several different ethnic groups, might suggest that many of them are not married and thereby not subject to the re-

strictive demands of a husband. Some of these women were also observed diamond digging. Most Koranko men in the town were engaged in diamond digging apparently leaving their women to provide food by farming. The phenomenon of women of fortune in the diamond fields who follow the diggers from boom town to boom town, doing housewifely chores, making money as traders in the market or as cooked food sellers, and helping the diggers spend their wealth as they earn it, is probably represented by the ladies of Bongema. Generally, though, as in Bumpeh, Njalla and Ndoyogbor, the proportions of economically active women in the town are quite low.

Table 36. Female Occupation by Ethnic Group

		Trading	%	Farming	%	Total No. of Women
Bumpeh:	Kono	2		24		
	Fula	1				
	Mandingo	1		1		
	Mende	2				
	Susu			1		
	Temne	9		2		
	Yoruba	1				
	Total	16	36%	28	64%	261
Bongema:	Kono	1		7		
	Fula	5				
	Koranko	9		14		
	Limba	7				
	Mende	3				
	Temne	3				
	Total	28	57%	21	43%	69
Njalla:	Kono	2		40		
	Fula	3		6		
	Total	5	10%	46	88%	167
Ndoyogbor:						
	Kono	1		7		
	Fula			1		
	Mandingo			2		
	Mende			1		
	Temne	2				
	Total	3	21%	11	79%	107

Because of the ethnic diversity of the households it is difficult to be precise about the tribe of every child. Therefore in making a breakdown of figures concerning children in school,

households have been divided between those that are predominantly Kono and those that are predominantly non-Kono.

Table 37. Education of Children in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla, 1975/76.

		Total	Kono	Non-Kono
Bumpeh :	Primary School	28	18	35
	Secondary School	4	7	3
Ndoyogbor:				
	Primary school	18	26	4
	Secondary school	4	5	4
Bongema:	Primary school	18	6	21
	Secondary school	2	6	1
Njalla:	Primary school	26	29	22
	Secondary school	5	6	5

All figures are percentages of the total number of children, of the total from Kono households, and of the total from non-Kono households.

Primary schools include Koran schools, hence the high proportion of non-Kono children attending primary school in Bongema, where the Koran school is the only educational establishment available, and in Bumpeh where the Koran schools are well established. Although only a small proportion are attending secondary school (most of these were not in fact living in the mining settlements, but were away at school) a higher percentage of Konos than non-Konos are in secondary education. The child populations of Ndoyogbor and Bongema are probably younger than those of Bumpeh and Njalla, which added to the fact that there are no established primary schools in these places explains why the proportions of children attending school are lower. Primary school children in Ndoyogbor, mainly from Kono households, go to Bumpeh.

The education of children has high priority, even in the illicit diamond mining areas. The substantial percentage of non-Kono households sending children to school is a further indication of involvement with the settled life of the area.

The next chapter considers Peyima and Sukudu in Kamara chiefdom in the same manner as the Nimikoro case studies. At the end of that chapter some observations are made on the general characteristics of diamond boom towns and on specific differences between the two areas, as well as the differences already noted between the rank 4 semi-urban settlements of Bongema and Ndoyogbor and the rank 2 and 3 settlements of Bumpeh and Njalla. The statistics examined in this chapter have generally shown a greater division between Njalla and the other three towns than between different sizes of towns. Bumpeh has diversified into an established urban settlement, whereas Njalla appears to have suffered some decline that may make it comparable with Sukudu. Ndoyogbor and especially Bongema exhibit the characteristics of less permanent boom towns.

CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDIES OF MINING SETTLEMENTS IN KAMARA CHIEFDOM

Description and History of Peyima and Sukudu

Peyima and Sukudu[1] became relatively large boom towns during the initial diamond rush of the early 1950's. The rich diamond source area around Koidu is drained by the rivers Woyie, Meya and Moinde which flow northwards through Kamara Chiefdom as the Meya/Moinde valley to join the river Bafi just to the north of Peyima and Sukudu. This valley is very rich in diamonds (it was close to Tumbodu that the gigantic 'Star of Sierra Leone' gemstone was found) and Peyima and Sukudu grew up on opposite banks of the Meya/Moinde river, to exploit these deposits, as well as the diamonds contained in the gravels of the Bafi river bed. The two towns are about one mile apart, but although a track runs between them, there is no bridge across the river, although it is easily forded at most times of the year. North of Peyima a ferry service operates across the Bafi, but effectively both towns are at a dead end on the road and will not benefit from future through traffic, as do Yomadu and Seidu which are on the road to Kayima and the rest of Sando Chiefdom.

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1. This chapter on Peyima and Sukudu treats the towns and their populations in exactly the same manner as the previous four case studies in Chapter 5. They are dealt with separately, partly because their experience of decline is marginally different from the growth of the Nimikoro case studies, and partly to avoid the clutter of dealing with all six case studies in one chapter. As the explanations of methods and definitions of population characteristics and their categorisation were made in Chapter 5 when presenting the information on Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla, these explanations are not repeated in the present chapter.

Peyima and Sukudu probably reached their peaks of population size before 1956, but growth and decline have fluctuated. Although these towns show features of declining boom towns, they in no way resemble ghost towns, and it seems unlikely that a decline of that intensity would occur.

When licensed mining was legalised in the 1955 agreement, S.L.S.T. had the option of selecting additional areas for its lease. The additional selection included the area around Peyima and Sukudu, causing the government considerable embarrassment. In 1955 there were several thousand diggers at work in this area. To expel them would have taken a massive military and police offensive. As this was impracticable S.L.S.T. was persuaded to select areas elsewhere and the Peyima/Sukudu block later became an A.D.M.S. area (Van der Laan 1965). Further south in Kamara, on the S.L.S.T. lease, contract mining sites were granted to private African firms. Basic equipment consisting of pumps, foot rocker sieves, jigs etc., were supplied by S.L.S.T. and diamonds were sold through the company or the G.D.O. Contract mining sites were generally those that were too small for the heavy machinery of S.L.S.T. to be able to operate (Van der Laan 1965).

While these developments in mining encouraged the growth of Peyima and Sukudu, the expulsion of the 'native foreigners' in 1956 drastically reduced the populations of the two towns as the Gambians, Guineans and Maliens were driven out of the country. Undoubtedly many of these people later returned, especially in the early 1960's, but not in the same numbers to Peyima and Sukudu.

Sukudu is a section town and has remained smaller, with a higher proportion of its population being Kono and engaged in agriculture. Peyima, similar to Yomadu, Seidu, Tefeya and Mass-

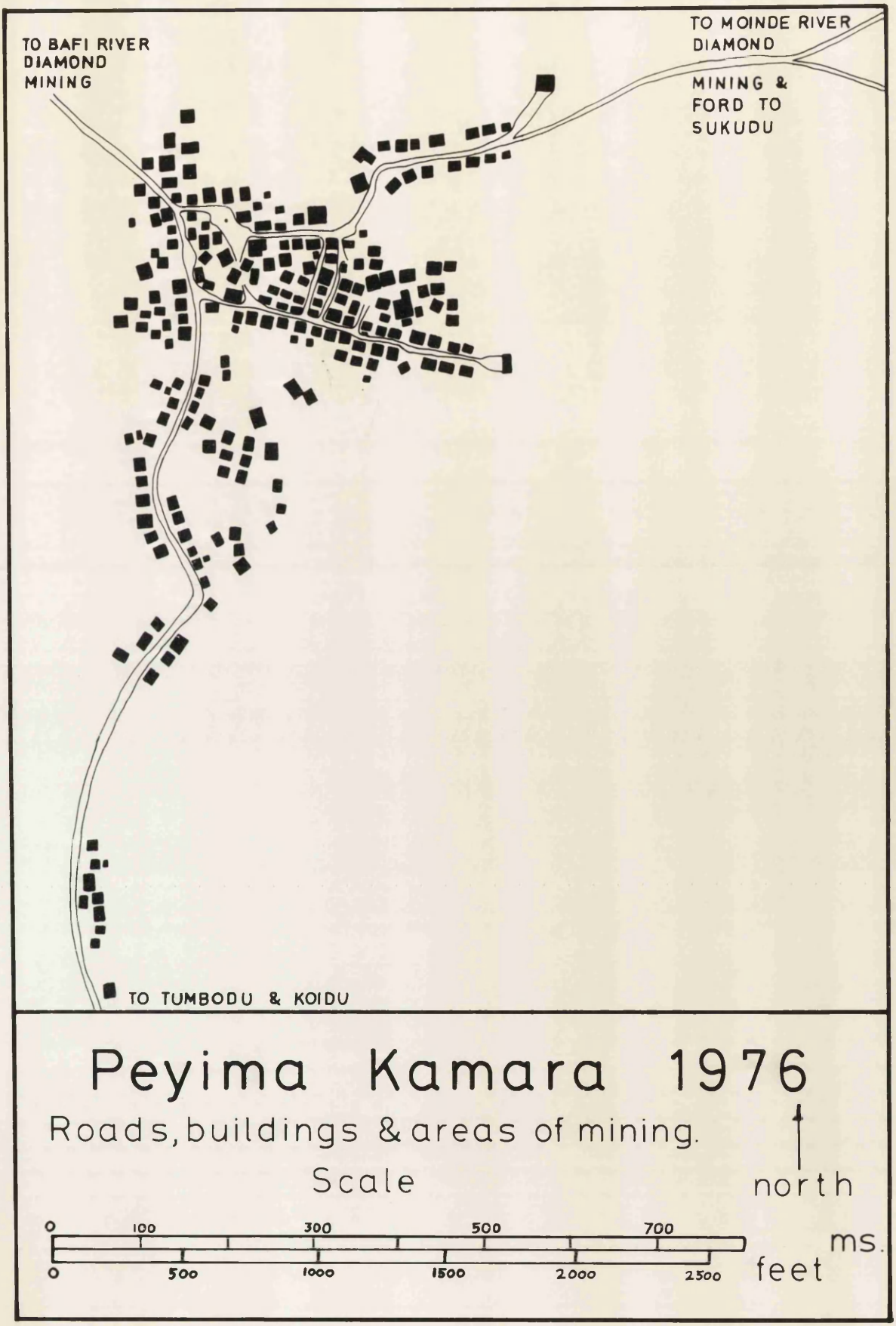

Figure 29. Town plan of Peyima in 1976

abendu, is a larger, richer, ethnically diverse diamond town. Much movement has occurred between Peyima and Sukudu and also out from the towns to the small settlements on the diamond deposits and then back into the towns during the depressed mining periods.

Figure 29 shows the town plan of Peyima in 1976. The pattern is quite similar to that of 1958,[2] but with more houses having been built by 1976, especially along the road to Tumbodu going south out of the town. There are 217 houses in Peyima, most of them quite substantial buildings. The shape of the settlement is nucleated with some linear development along the roads out of Peyima. There is an open square which is effectively the centre of the town, although it is towards the north west corner. In the centre of this is the ancestral shrine or spear resting place (tamba tina) of the man who founded Peyima. Housing around this square is older and less ordered than the eastern part where large houses have been constructed along a grid pattern of streets.

Improvements were clearly made to the town after 1956. The Kono Health Officer described Peyima in 1955 "as a most unsanitary place. The officer reported that it was unbelievable that a person could live in such filth. Hundreds of shimbecks - 20 a day - were being erected. This town had no latrines and no burial ground. Refuse, empty tins and bottles, were scattered about. The water supply from springs and stagnant streams was polluted. Hanging meat for sale was covered in flies. The frequent movement

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2. Aerial photographs 1958 1:40,000 scale; by courtesy of the Geography Department, Fourah Bay College, Freetown.

of the diggers made improvement difficult" (Parsons 1964, page 211). The term 'shimbeck', as used by the colonial authorities and S.L.S.T., refers to the mud and wattle huts, usually with thatched roofs, mud floors and only of one or two rooms. Such buildings were rapidly erected at little cost simply for rough accommodation. At the same time the wealth earned from mining was invested in substantial modern buildings, constructed from concrete, with tin roofs and metal window frames.

By the early 1960's the decline of the diamond rush had already devalued these buildings. G. W. Manni described Peyima in 1963 as being like a war ravaged village. Houses that had been bought for £5,000 were by then standing empty, or being sold for £5 or £10 (Minikin 1970).

The town Chief of Peyima[3] confirmed that before 1950 the village was very small, reaching its peak of size in the early 1950's. Although it increased again during the early 1960's, digging has eased off considerably since 1972. Peyima was very rich during the 1950's and most money was spent in building houses. As new diamond fields were exploited, so the diggers and licensees moved to new areas. Many people, especially in the mid-1970's, went to such places as Yomadu, Jaiama Sewafe, Koidu and Tongo Field. Since 1960 Yomadu especially has grown at the expense of Peyima.

There is some evidence of decline and decay in Peyima, with wrecked machines, pumps, winch bases and the rusted chassis of old heavy lorries rotting in the swamps and stream beds. Some

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3. Interview with Mr. Jimmy, Town Chief of Peyima, 24.1.76.

houses have fallen into ruin and a number of buildings are incomplete, including the brightly painted yellow and green mosque. An extreme example of someone running out of money could be observed in a house being built at the edge of the town, where the front half of the building consisted of concrete blocks with a wooden frame and metal window frames, and the back half of mud and wattle.

However there are also many pumps and heavy vehicles presently in use and diamond mining along the Bafi and in the swamps to the east and west of the town is still extensive. Peyima has a primary school, mosque and court barrie. Streets are narrow and houses tightly packed together, often less than ten feet in width and most streets less than twenty feet wide. There are many Fula and Mandingo traders with small well stocked shops, as well as butchers, bakers and kerosene sellers. Many of the larger elaborate houses, with garages, are built in the style of town houses in Koidu. Some have electric cables indicating a past or present electricity supply.

The 1963 census classified Peyima and Sukudu as towns. Harvey (1966) did not define them as towns because they could not reach his criteria of having both 1,000 people and two or more urban functions. Applying the same criteria in 1976 Peyima and Sukudu, despite a drop in population, now possess sufficient urban functions to rank them as small towns. Harvey classified Peyima, Yengema and Yomadu as mining towns by occupation in 1963.

Sukudu was dominated by mining in the same way as Peyima and boomed uncontrollably in the 1950's. But its decline has

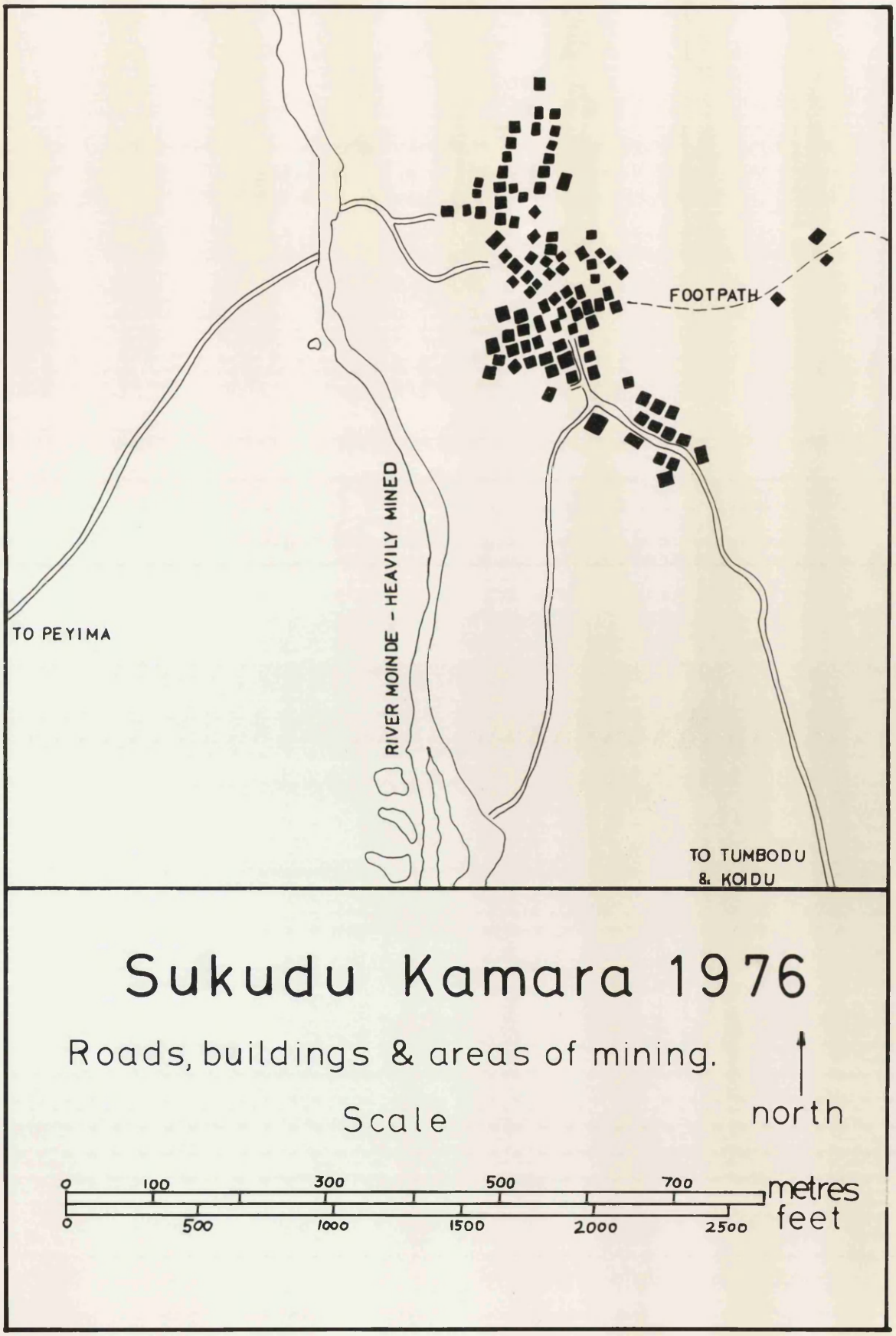

Figure 30. Town plan of Sukudu in 1976

been more severe and it is now a sleepy rural settlement, though still containing an active mining sector. Sukudu is built on a small rocky hill above the river. The ground is littered with large boulders and rocks, such that houses are built around and even on top of the rocks. Consequently, the morphology of the town is irregular with no motorable streets in the centre, see figure 30. It is a nucleated settlement with two linear extensions, to the north along the ridge, and to the south along the main road into the town. The central nucleus is very densely packed, being dominated by Kono , while the southern part, especially along the road leading out of town, is dominated by non-Kono . There are 102 buildings in the town. A small court barrie in the centre of Sukudu also serves as the primary school classroom. The centre of the town is on the highest spot, close to the river.

One large two storey concrete house was built in the centre of Sukudu, by Mr. Saa Lebbie, a legendary rich Kono diamond dealer now living in Koidu. This house is in a considerable state of decay, full of chickens, devoid of furniture, the windows broken, rooms empty and the rotted ceiling full of twittering bats. The stories told of the diamond rush in Sukudu suggest that generally a lot of money was spent on extended parties, drinking and gambling, and rather less on house construction.[4]

However, the sanitation and cleanliness of both settlements is clearly in contrast to the unhealthy state described during the 1950's and the town Chiefs had much more control over their

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4. Interviews with Sukudu Town Chief, Mr. K. L. Teneforay, and other town elders, 7.2.76.

towns in 1976 than during the wild days of the diamond rush.

Population of Peyima and Sukudu

Information relating to population, from the 1963 Census, household surveys, and Chiefdom Tax payment and house counts made from aerial photographs has been treated in the same way as in the case studies of Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla.[5] Whereas the population figures of the Nimikoro case studies indicate an overall increase, statistics for Peyima and Sukudu show a marked decline since 1960, despite fluctuations. Unfortunately no reliable population information is available for the period before 1958, although residents and chiefs of both settlements claimed that the population between 1954 and 1956 was higher than at any subsequent time.

Table 38. Population of Peyima and Sukudu in 1963 and 1976

	1963 Census	1963%	1976 Sample	1976%	1976 Projection
Peyima			(29%)		
Total	4,625	100	847	100	2,921
Males	2,410	52	297	35	1,024
Females	1,049	23	196	23	676
Children	1,166	25	354	42	1,221
Sukudu			(46%)		
Total	3,097	100	537	100	1,167
Males	1,725	56	195	36	424
Females	681	22	142	26	309
Children	691	22	200	37	435

The total populations of men, women and children are listed for 1963 and 1976, with the percentages of each. The sample of 847 people surveyed in Peyima in 1976 represents the population of 29% of all the buildings in the town; 63 houses out of 217.

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5. See Chapter 5.

Similarly in Sukudu the sample of 537 people surveyed represents the population of 46% of all buildings, or 47 out of 102 houses. A comparison of the percentages of men, women and children in 1976 with those of 1963, shows a trend towards greater balance in the populations. The dominance of males in 1963 was virutally the same in both towns, as are the proportions in 1976. While the proportion of women has changed little, the proportion of children has greatly increased at the expense of male dominance. However, projections of the 1976 sample, based on the percentage of the sample, suggest that the numbers of adults, especially the population of men, have decreased considerably, with roughly the same number of children as in 1963 in Peyima, accounting for the increased proportion, and fewer children in Sukudu, where emigration appears to have involved not only adult men, but women and children too.

In 1963 there were 2.3 adult males to every woman in Peyima. In 1976 the proporton had changed to 1.5 men to one woman. In Sukudu there were 2.5 men to every woman in 1963, but only 1.4 men to one woman by 1976. A projection of the 1976 sample population based on the numbers of persons per house, and house counts, gives a likely figure close to the projection indicated in Table 38. In Sukudu the average of 11.4 persons per house, increased by 102 houses, gives a possible population of 1,163 people. In Peyima there were 13.4 persons per house, in 217 houses, to give a possible population of 2,908.

Table 39. Chiefdom Tax Payment in Peyima and Sukudu for selected years from 1958 to 1974.[6]

	Peyima	Sukudu	Gbondu Section	Sukudu Section
1958	852	352	1,284	509
1961	2,055	1,071	2,735	1,283
1964	1,674	667	2,472	891
1965	1,918	1,054	2,987	1,377
1967	1,567	788	2,821	1,004
1969	1,618	620	2,788	852
1970	890	669	2,241	882
1971	1,024	536	2,771	826
1972	1,335	659	2,936	1,076
1973	1,478	761	3,453	1,060
1974	1,680	823	3,217	1,177

The general trend of chiefdom tax payment shows that the largest population probably occurred in the early 1960's declining towards the end of the decade with a further increase in the early 1970's. This is the reverse of the 1969/70 diamond rush elsewhere in Kono. Undoubtedly people left Peyima and Sukudu at that time to try their luck elsewhere, returning again after the boom had lost its impetus, hoping finally that the exhausted deposits of Peyima and Sukudu might once again yield new wealth. The totals of tax payment for each of the sections in which Peyima and Sukudu are situated, show a similar trend. This means that people were not simply moving out of the towns into surrounding villages or vice versa. In Gbondu section (Peyima) the total by 1973 to 1974 was greater than at any other time in the period since 1958. In Sukudu section the number of taxpayers in 1974 is not much less than the peak in the early 1960's, although tax collection procedures have been improved, such that a greater proportion of people probably avoided being counted in the 1960's

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6. Chiefdom tax payment lists for 1975 and 1976 were still not available by early 1976.

than in the 1970's. Kamara Chiefdom reached its peak of population, according to taxpayment figures, in 1973, having declined only slightly by 1974, when there were still twice as many taxpayers as in the early 1960's. Thus the picture of declining population in Peyima and Sukudu is neither straightforward nor absolute.

Table 40. Area and housing density in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

		Peyima	Sukudu
A.	Area in hectares	11.32	4.64
B.	Population per room	2.3	2.17
C.	Number of houses in town	217	102
D.	Average number of rooms per house	5.84	5.25
E.	Approximate number of rooms in whole town (C x D)	1,267.6	536.0
F.	Houses per hectare (C ÷ A)	19.2	21.98
G.	Rooms per hectare (E ÷ A)	111.97	115.5
H.	Population per hectare (B x G)	257.5	250.7

Both towns fall within the sort of range of population density shown by Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla.[7] There are several similarities of density between Peyima and Bumpeh. Of all six case studies Peyima has the largest houses, and Sukudu the lowest population per room. Because of the size of Peyima's houses it has the lowest number of houses per hectare, but it has a density of people per hectare comparable with that of Sukudu, less than that of Bumpeh or Ndoyogbor, but more than that of Njalla or Bongema.

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7. See Chapter 5.

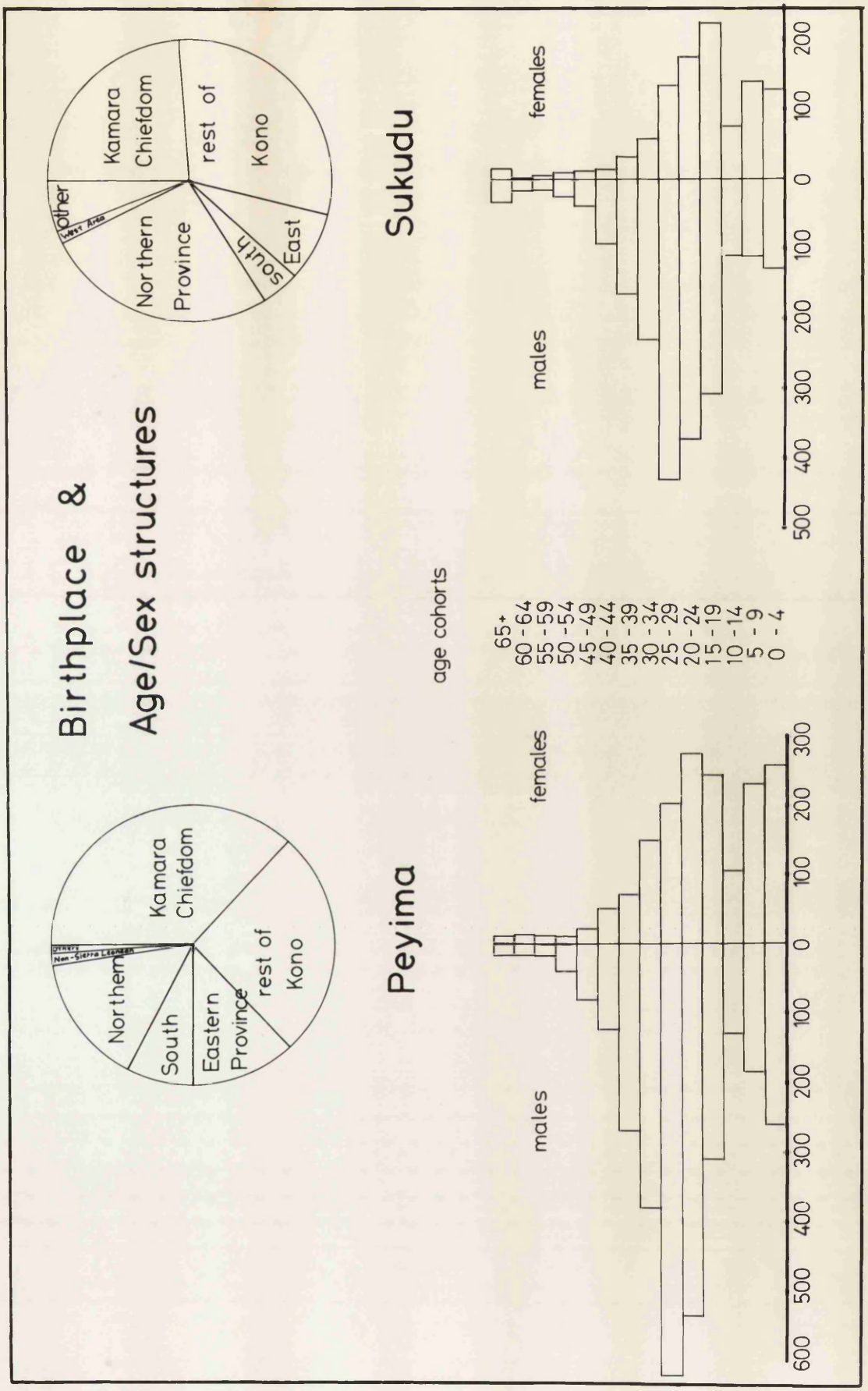

Figure 31. Birthplace and age/sex structures of Peyima and Sukudu in 1963

Population Characteristics in 1963

When the diamond rush first hit Kono in the early 1950's Peyima and Sukudu responded immediately by developing as boom towns. By 1963 they still showed most of the characteristics of boom towns, in contrast to the other four case study towns in Nimikoro, which had only responded in a small way at that time. In Peyima in 1963, 64.5% of the population was male (including boys under 15 years) and in Sukudu 67%. The age/sex pyramids for these towns, figure 31, show a very strong dominance of males over females, especially in the 15 to 49 years age group. It is obvious from the age/sex pyramids that there had also been some immigration of young women as well as men. In Sukudu 53% of the whole population consisted of men aged 15 to 49 years and in Peyima 50%. Of the 15 to 49 years age group, males formed 71.5% in Sukudu, and 70% in Peyima.

In figure 31 the pie graphs show the birthplace of the population of Peyima and Sukudu. A comparison of these with the graphs for Bumpeh and Njalla (figure 23) shows that a far smaller proportion of the populations of Peyima and Sukudu had been born in Kamara, although still a high proportion, over half in each case, had come from some part of Kono.

Table 41. Ethnic Origin of the population of Peyima and Sukudu in 1963.

Tribe	Peyima	Sukudu
Kono	43.6	42.5
Total non-Kono	56.4	57.5
Mende	4.7	1.2
Limba	10.9	3.9
Temne	7.4	2.5
Koranko	13.1	17.8
Kissi	5.6	4.8
Fula	5.5	5.2
Mandingo	5.7	19.0
Susu	0.7	0.4
Others	2.7	2.8

All figures are percentages

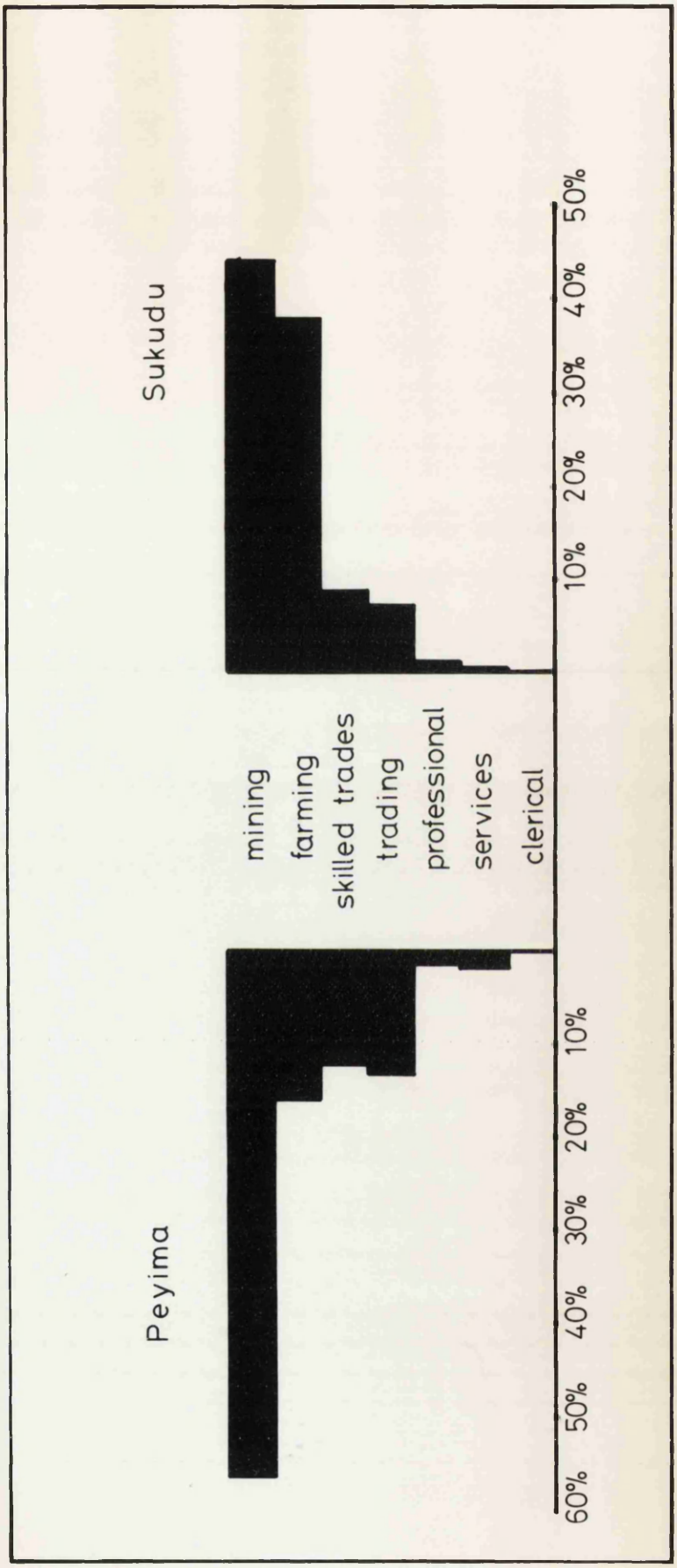

Figure 32. Occupations in Peyima and Sukudu in 1963

Non-Kono were dominant in Peyima and Sukudu with the largest immigrant tribes being Koranko, in both towns, the Mandingo in Sukudu and Limba in Peyima. The description of Peyima as a Maraka town (a term which could include Wolof, Mandingo, Susu, urban Fula and others of Gambian, Senegalese, Guinean and Malien origin) is not born out by this table. It is possible that most of the foreigners really did leave in 1956 and that they never came back, but it is more likely that many of them did come back and avoided the census. Some 19% of the non-Kono in Peyima had been born in Kono District, and 12% of those in Sukudu.

Figure 32 shows the occupations of the populations of Peyima and Sukudu in 1963. Peyima was clearly a mining town with 56% of its workforce engaged in that occupation. Farming was unimportant, although it was still the second major occupation. Sukudu was also dominated by mining, 44%, but a much larger proportion of its workforce was engaged in agriculture than in Peyima. The higher proportions and greater total numbers of the workforce of Peyima engaged in skilled trades, trading and services is indicative of its greater development as a town. Many of its functions and services also served the population of Sukudu, and the people of the section headquarters village, Gbondu, a large settlement just to the south of Peyima. Throughout most of the diamond boom period the road to Sukudu was much worse than the road to Peyima, encouraging Sukudu's dependence upon Peyima.

Table 42. Occupation related to Ethnic Origin by Kono and non-Kono in Peyima and Sukudu in 1963.

All figures in percentages	Peyima		Sukudu	
	Kono	Non-Kono	Kono	Non-Kono
Professions	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.9
Farming	7.9	21.9	21.1	16.9
Clerical	0.1	0.1	0.1	-
Mining	27.6	22.6	17.6	26.5
Skilled trades	2.7	3.8	2.1	5.8
Services	1.7	3.4	0.7	0.9
Trading	1.0	6.6	0.5	6.6
Total workforce	41.3	58.7	42.2	57.8
Without any occupation (as % of all population)	45.3	39.9	47.9	47.4

N.B. Figures are rounded to one decimal point.

The category of people without occupations includes women and children as well as unemployed men. There were fewer non-Konos without occupations than there were Konos, although this is partly accounted for by the fact that there was a higher proportion of Kono women and children than non-Kono. In Peyima 50% of the Koranko workforce was engaged in farming and 40% in diamond digging. Similarly, in Sukudu many of the Koranko were farming, as well as a large number who were diamond digging. In Sukudu most of the diamond diggers were non-Kono, whereas in Peyima most were Kono. In Peyima 54.5% of the Mandingo workforce, 91% of the Kissi, and 49% of the Fula were all digging diamonds. In Sukudu diamond digging was spread across all the tribes. Trading was almost completely out of Kono hands. In Sukudu 77% of all traders were Fula or Mandingo, while in Peyima Fula, Mandingo and non-Sierra Leoneans accounted for 36% of all traders, with Temne making up another 25%. This was the only occurrence of a large Temne trading group in 1963.

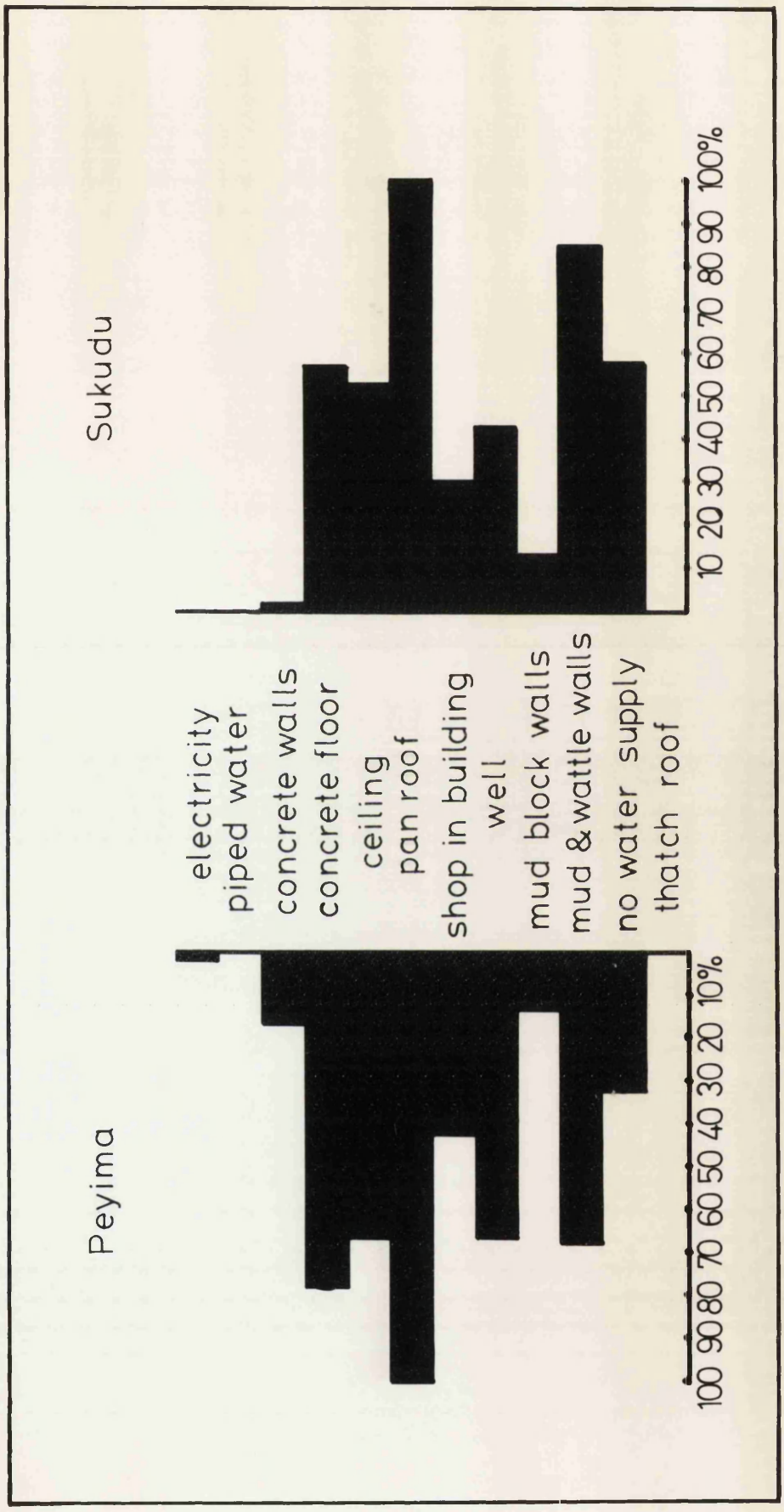

Figure 33. House construction and amenities in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

The 1963 census shows many similarities between Peyima and Sukudu and Bumpeh and Njalla, but with the diamond boom town characteristics that are common to all four settlements, greatly exaggerated in Peyima and Sukudu. Peyima and Sukudu in 1963 closely resemble Bumpeh and Njalla, as well as Ndoyogbor and Bongema, in 1975/76.

House Construction

In most respects the houses of Peyima are more modern and use more expensive materials than the buildings of the other five case study settlements. The closest comparison can be made between Peyima and Bumpeh, while Sukudu comes further down the scale of development of modern influences. Figure 33, showing the materials used in house construction and basic amenities, is ranked so that modern attributes occur at the top of the graph and traditional features at the bottom. Peyima shows greater emphasis towards the better developed upper end of the graph. The use of mud and wattle walls and the lack of a water supply close to many houses is much more common in Sukudu.

Table 43. House construction materials and amenities in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976.

All figures in percentages	Peyima	Sukudu
No water supply	33	57½
Well	67	42½
Piped water	-	-
Electricity	2	-
Shop in building	43	30
Concrete floor	78	57
Ceiling	67	53
Pan roof	100	100
Thatch roof	-	-
Concrete walls	17	2
Mud block walls	14	13
Mud and wattle walls	68	85

The variables of house construction shown in the table are grouped according to type rather than by level of development. The higher proportion of shops in Peyima is further evidence of the important trading function of the town. Concrete is widely used both in Peyima and Bumpeh, and Peyima is second to Bumpeh in the use of ceilings.

Table 44. Age of construction of buildings in Peyima and Sukudu

	Peyima		Sukudu	
	Number	%	Number	%
Before 1950	2	3	4	8½
1951 - 1955	20	32	8	17
1956 - 1960	16	25	12	25
1961 - 1965	10	16	12	25
1966 - 1970	11	17	7	15
1971 - 1975	4	6	4	8½
	63	100	47	100

As the period of the greatest building boom is likely to reflect the period of maximum immigration and settlement, this table shows that the time of most activity in Peyima was the 1950's, especially 1951 to 1955. Building in Sukudu was spread over a longer period, mainly between 1956 and 1965. Many of these houses are subsequent to the initial huts that were erected during the diamond rush, and were often built after the diggers had been successful.

Table 45. Multi-building households in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

	Peyima		Sukudu	
Households with more than one building	12	23%	6	15%
Very large houses, more than 10 rooms	4	8%	1	2½%

Table 45 re-affirms the observations that houses and extended family compounds in Peyima tended to be larger. In house construction there are no really significant differences between the case studies in Kamara and those in Nimikoro. Greater differences occur between the more developed towns of Peyima and Bumpeh on the one hand, and Sukudu, Njalla, Ndoyogbor and Bongema on the other.

The Household

Table 46. Household size and family structure in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976.

	Peyima		Sukudu	
Household size	16.6		13.4	
Households with no women or children	0		3	7½%
Households with no children	1	2%	6	15%
Men related to head of household	86	35%	72	46%
Women related to head of household	74	38%	49	34%
Female householders	1	2%	0	

The household has already been defined in the previous chapter where reference was also made to the 1969 Government Household Surveys.[8] The average size of households in Peyima is above that of all five of the other case studies, and that of Sukudu is below. While some aspects of the population of Sukudu suggest a declining, increasingly rural settlement, the relatively high proportions of all male and childless households suggest that

8. See Chapter 5.

there may be a division of the population between a few remaining mining households, of the type found in Bongema, and rural, predominantly Kono families, similar to many households in Njalla.

Table 47. Employment relationships in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

	Peyima		Sukudu	
Number of men working for the head of household	110	44%	81	52%
Average number of men working for head of household	3.9		3.7	
Number of households with men working for head of household	28	55%	22	55%

As in Nimikoro case studies a large proportion of men in both towns are either related to the head of the household and/or work for him. The proportion is higher in Sukudu than in Peyima. Again, Peyima and Bumpeh, as larger places, show similarities as do Sukudu and Njalla. In more urbanised settlements a smaller proportion of men and women are related to or working for the head of the household, whereas in smaller settlements closer relationships, by blood or employment, are apparent. The larger household size in Peyima is partly responsible for the higher average number of male employees per household.

In the following table (Table 48) it will be shown that in Sukudu 64% of all house owners are Kono, and 95% of all the Kono householders own their own homes. In Peyima, with a smaller proportion of Kono people, only 37½% of all house owners are Kono, but all the Kono householders own their houses. The proportions

of houses owned and rented are virtually the same in both towns; 78% owned and 22% rented.

Table 48. House Ownership by Ethnic Group in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976.

	Owned	Rented	Total
Peyima			
Kono	15		15
Fula	4	7	11
Kissi	1		1
Mandingo	7	1	8
Mende	1		1
Temne	4	2	6
Other Sierra Leoneans	5		5
Other West African	3	1	4
Total	40	11	51
Sukudu			
Kono	20	1	21
Fula	1		1
Kissi		1	1
Mandingo	4	5	9
Mende			
Temne	1		1
Other Sierra Leonean	5	1	6
Other West African		1	1
Total	31	9	40

As shown in the following Table (Table 49) there are no very significant differences from the ethnic diversity of households in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla. The higher average number of ethnic groups per household in Peyima is the same as in Bumpeh. The lower figure in Sukudu is slightly higher than the figure recorded in Njalla, which had the least diversity of all the case studies.

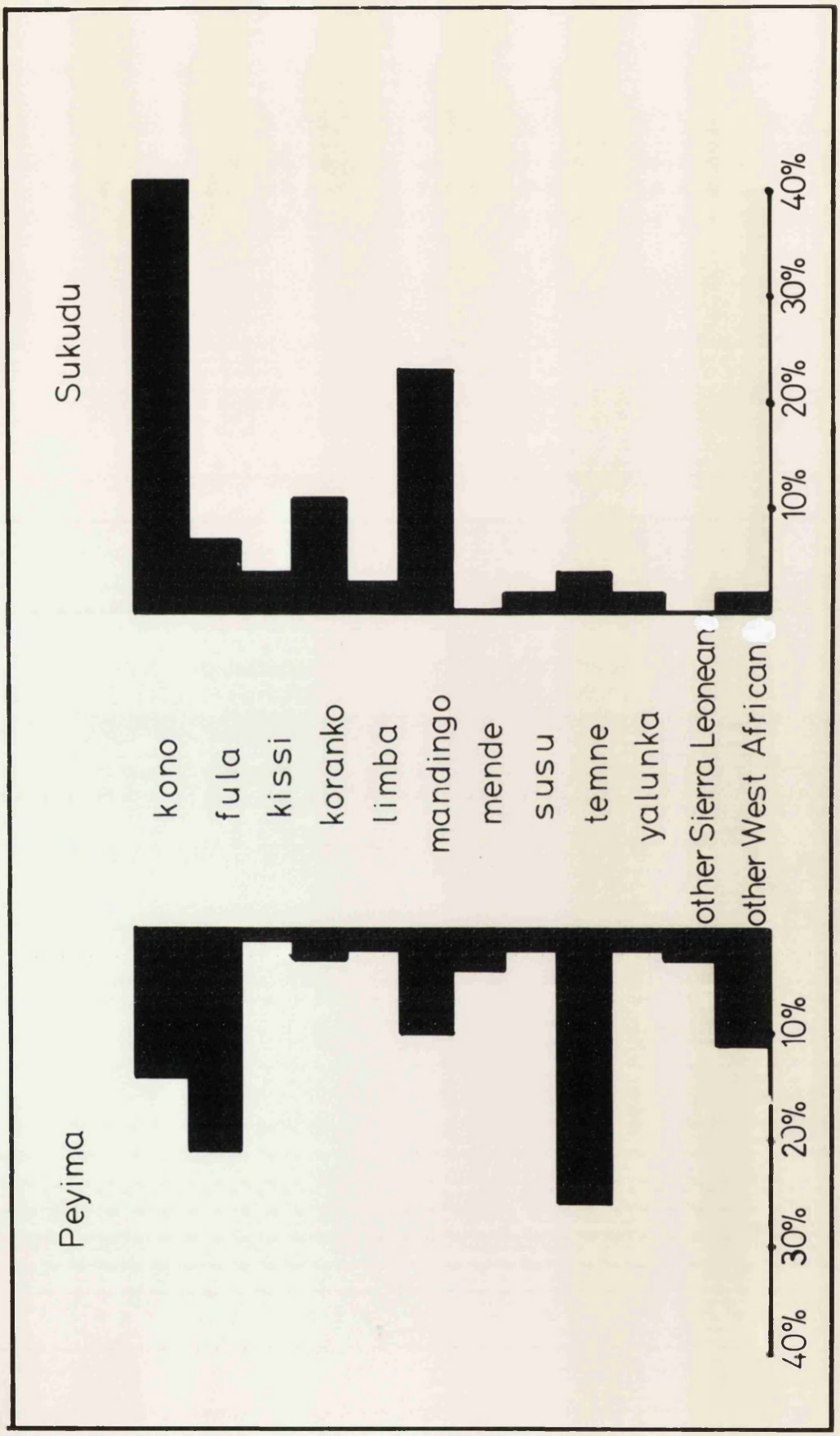

Figure 34. Ethnic origins of adult male populations of Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

Table 49. Ethnic diversity of households in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976.

	Peyima	Sukudu
Number of households	51	40
1 ethnic group	17	21
Percent with one tribe	33%	52½%
2 ethnic groups	20	15
Percent with 2 tribes	39%	37½%
3 ethnic groups	8	1
Percent with 3 tribes	16%	2½%
4 ethnic groups	2	1
Percent with 4 tribes	4%	2½%
5 ethnic groups	4	1
Percent with 5 tribes	8%	2½%
6 ethnic groups		
7 ethnic groups		1
Percent with 7 tribes		2½%
Average number of ethnic groups per household	2.14	1.75

The Adult Male Populations of Peyima and Sukudu

The adult male population of each settlement is analysed in greater detail to show the relationships between ethnic group migration and occupation. There is obviously a close relationship between ethnic group and birthplace, see figures 34 and 35.

Ethnic group, figure 34, shows that by 1976 Peyima had remained ethnically diverse, with Kono only the third largest group, behind the Temne and Fula communities. The town also has a large group of other West Africans, most of whom are 'Maraka '. Proportions are very different in Sukudu where the Kono are dominant,

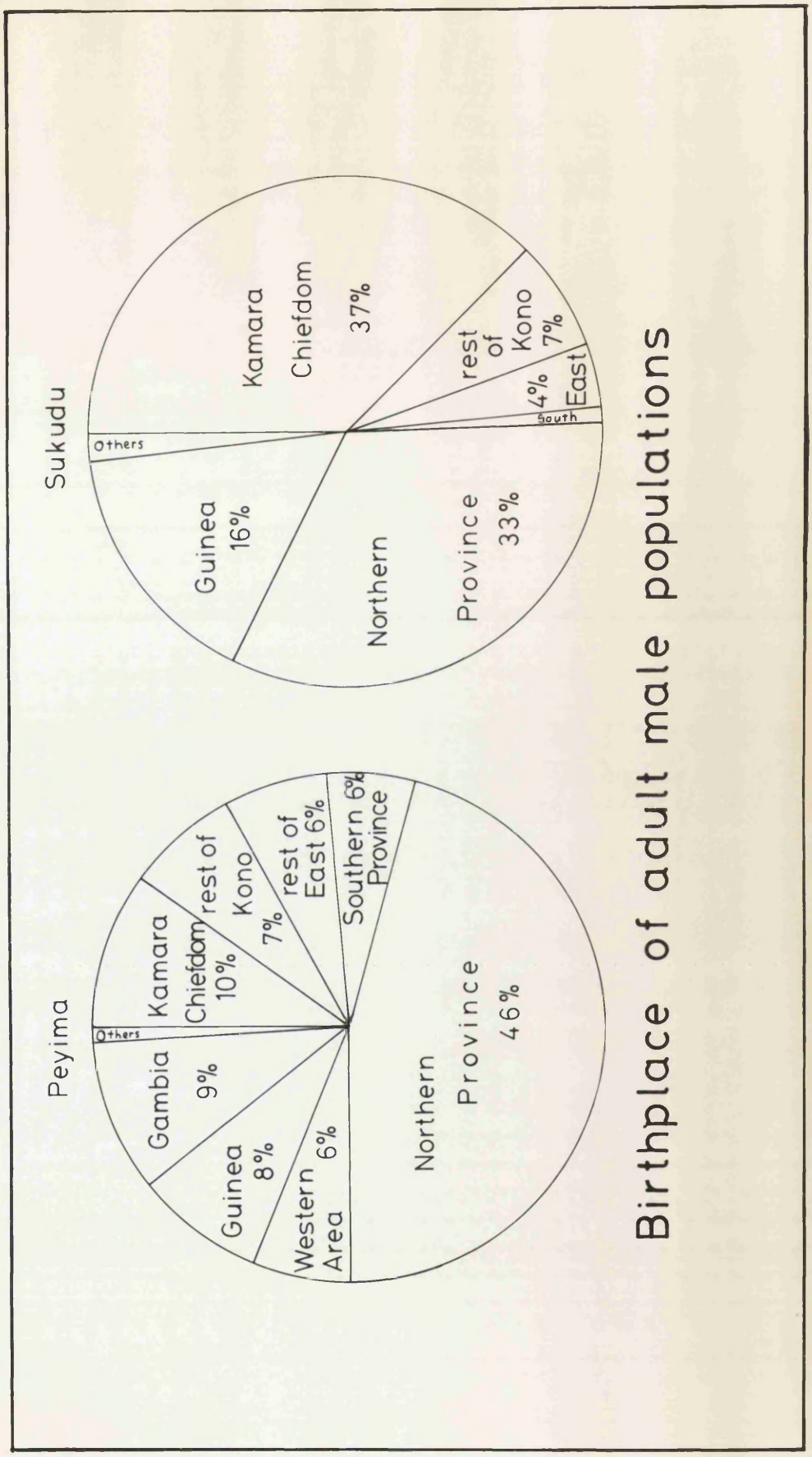

Figure 35. Birthplace of adult male populations of Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

followed by the Mandingo and Koranko, the other large ethnic groups present in 1963. There has been a significant increase in the numbers and proportion of Temne in Peyima, an influx that is associated with the 1969/70 diamond rush. Despite the diversity of the population of Peyima and the insignificance of the Kono population, forming only 14% of the total, 38% of home ownership is in the hands of Kono people, while 31% of non-Konos are renting houses. In Sukudu the proportions are even higher, with 65% of house ownership being Kono, and 42% of non-Kono householders renting houses. There is a large proportion of Mandingo house owners in Peyima, 17½%, in relation to their smaller share of the population, only 10%. However, as was observed in the case studies of Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla, the proportion of non-Konos owning houses is quite substantial.

Birthplace, figure 35, shows a marked divergence from the pie graphs of Peyima and Sukudu in 1963, when both towns exhibited similar patterns. With the decline of Sukudu, the proportion of men in that town from Kamara chiefdom is now much greater, whereas the large numbers of people from elsewhere in Kono, present in 1963, must have departed to so reduce their proportion. The shift in proportion to Northern Province and Guinea as important places of origin, suggests increased immigration from these areas. As in Nimikoro, Koinadugu District is the most important place of origin for people coming from outside Kono. The large Temne population of Peyima ties in with the 46% of men who came from the Northern Province. The large Mandingo population of Sukudu also relates to the 16% of men coming from Guinea.

The previous place of residence of migrants before they arrived in Peyima or Sukudu gives information on migration within the diamond area, especially within the diamondiferous parts of Kono, Kenema and Bo Districts.

Table 50. Inter-Diamond Area Migrants in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

	Peyima	Sukudu
Number of males surveyed	297	195
Number of migrants	238	114
Number of inter-diamond area migrants	37	33
Inter-diamond area migrants as % of total males	14%	18%
Inter-diamond area migrants as % of total migrants	16%	29%
% of non-Kono previously resident elsewhere in Kono	14%	16%
% of non-Kono previously resident in Northern Province	40%	45%

There is a marked difference between Peyima and Sukudu and the four Nimikoro case studies. Only Njalla has a percentage of inter-diamond area migrants that approaches the low proportions of Peyima and Sukudu. Two factors account for this. Firstly a large number of migrants came direct to Peyima and Sukudu during the first rush of the 1950's. Many probably came straight from the Northern Province, and some of them have since settled in these towns. Secondly, and of more importance, the floating population of inter-diamond area migrants quickly moves on to richer and better mining areas. Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor and Bongema, all enjoying boom conditions, have very high proportions of inter-diamond area migrants. This may suggest that the present popul-

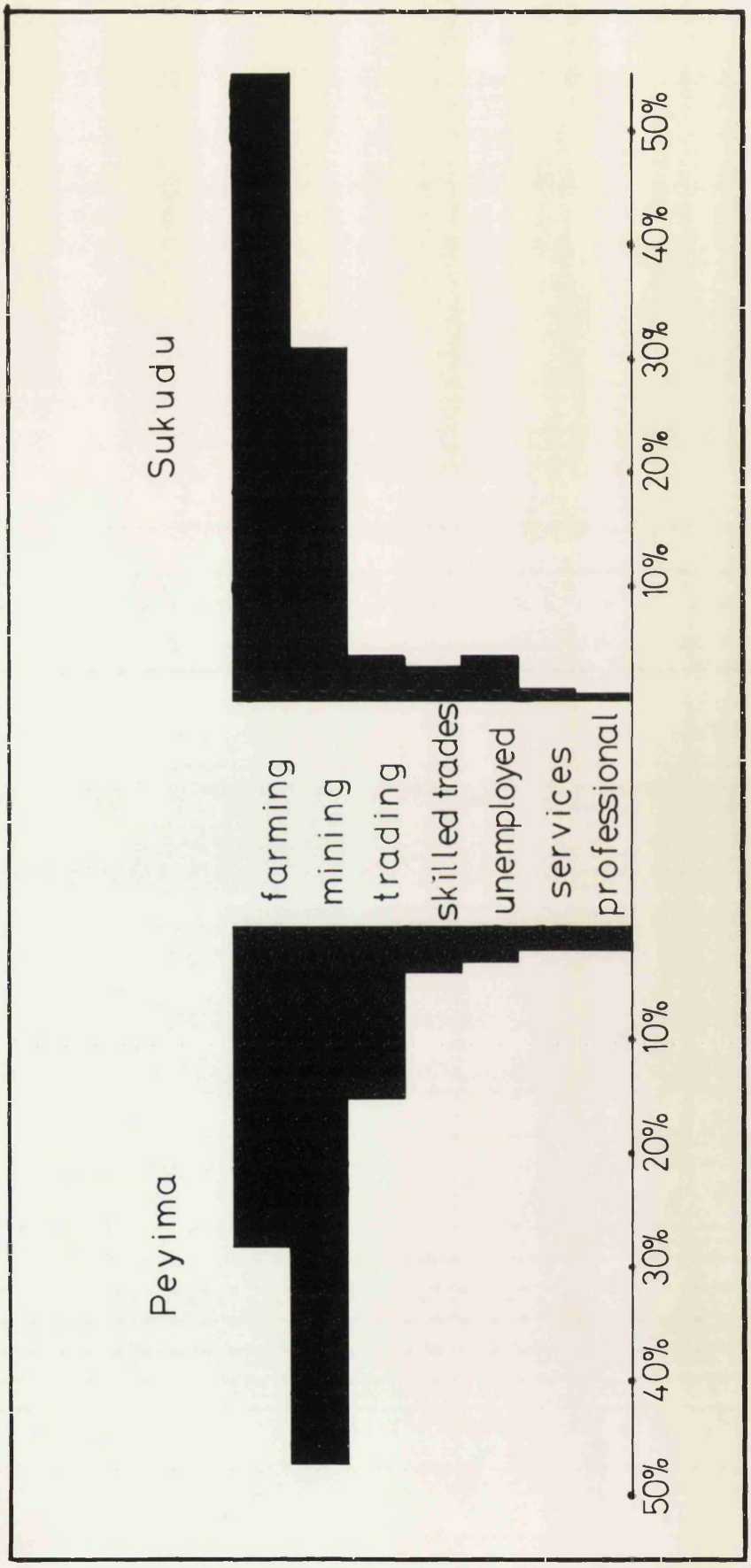

Figure 36. Occupations of adult male populations of Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

ation of Peyima and Sukudu, having already suffered extensive out-migration, may have settled down to a level of stability.

However, statistics showing the length of time spent in Peyima and Sukudu by immigrants, do not suggest that people who had arrived in these towns in the early 1950's had simply stayed there ever since.

Table 51. Average Length of Time Immigrants had lived in Peyima and Sukudu.

Migrants not born in the town	Peyima		Sukudu	
	Kono	Non-Kono	Kono	Non-Kono
Length of time, in years	11.35	7.87	12.3	7.8

The average number of years spent in Peyima and Sukudu, for Konos and non-Konos, is less than in Bumpeh, although longer than in Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla. It is thus likely that waves of emigration and immigration into and out of Peyima and Sukudu may have replaced most of the early boom population with later arrivals. Although Kono immigrants to Sukudu had lived there for quite a long time, 81% of all Kono men in Sukudu had been born there and lived there all their lives. Otherwise, the pattern that most Kono immigrants had lived in these places for longer than the non-Kono immigrants is the same as in the Nimikoro case study towns.

Figure 36 shows the occupations of the workforce of Peyima and Sukudu in 1976. Mining has declined a little in importance in Peyima, while there has been an upsurge in farming. Sukudu has virtually reverted to an agricultural settlement, while still

possessing a strong mining sector. Trading is still much more important in Peyima than in Sukudu. An interesting phenomenon in the resurgence of agriculture is that non-Konos have become involved in farming to an increasing extent. In Sukudu 83% of all Kono are farming, and in Peyima 78%, but only 64% of all farmers are Kono in Sukudu, and only 39% of farmers are Kono in Peyima. If a substantial sector of the immigrant mining population in the central Kono mining towns shifts into agriculture as the diamonds run out, emigration from the area will be much less severe than otherwise feared. However, even at this stage, mining remains an important occupation both in Peyima and Sukudu.

Table 52. Diamond mining and dealing in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

	Peyima	Sukudu
Male population of each town	264	182
Number of A.D.M.S. miners	113	56
% of diamond miners of male population	43%	31%
Number of dealers	7	0
Total number of dealers and miners	120	56
% of miners and dealers of total population of adult males	45%	31%

There are not many diamond dealers. Peyima clearly serves as a diamond buying centre for both towns, although Saa Lebbie of Sukudu is still a big dealer and sponsors the main digging operations in Sukudu. He thus buys most of the Sukudu diamonds directly, with any remaining stones being traded in Peyima.

Table 53. Diamond mining by Ethnic Group in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976.

	Peyima					Sukudu				
	A. Total number of each tribe	B. Number of Diamond Miners	C. % of all miners by tribe	D. % of each tribe in mining	E. % of population in mining	A. Total number of each tribe	B. Number of diamond miners	C. % of all miners by tribe	D. % of each tribe mining	E. % of population in mining
Kono	37	4	3	11		75	6	11	8	
Fula	56	24	20	43	9	12	4	7	33	
Kissi	3	1	1	33		8	6	11	75	
Koranko	9	4	3	44		20	7	12	35	
Limba	6	2	2	33		6	-	-	-	
Mandingo	27	12	10	44		42	19	34	45	10
Mende	11	7	6	64		1	1	1	100	
Susu	5	2	2	40		3	3	5	100	
Temne	68	46	38	68	17	8	7	12	87	
Yalunka	5	1	1	20		3	2	4	67	
Other Sierra Leonean	8	1	1	12		-	-	-	-	
Other West African	29	16	13	55		4	1	2	25	
Total	264	120	100		45	182	56	100		31

Line C in Table 53 shows the percentage of diamond miners broken down into ethnic groups and Line E the percentage of diamond miners of the total workforce. As in the Nimikoro case studies Fula and Temne are important as diamond miners. In Sukudu the Mandingo are heavily involved in mining while in Peyima the Temne are the largest group. Most of the immigrant

tribes present in Peyima and Sukudu are heavily involved in diamond mining, as is shown by Line D. Kissi, Mandingo, Mende, Susu, Temne and Yalunka in Sukudu, and Mende, Temne and other West Africans in Peyima, all have more than half of their respective workforces engaged in mining. Most Kono are not involved in mining.

Table 54. Trading by Ethnic Group in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

	Peyima			Sukudu		
	Total per tribe	Number of traders	% of traders per tribe	Total per tribe	Number of traders	% of traders per tribe
Kono	37	1	3%	75	1	1%
Fula	56	13	23%	12	2	17%
Kissi	3			8		
Koranko	9	2	22%	20		
Limba	6			6		
Mandingo	27	2	7%	42	4	9%
Mende	11			1		
Susu	5	1	20%	3		
Temne	68	7	10%	8	1	12%
Yalunka	5	4	80%	3		
Other Sierra Leoneans	8			-		
Other West Africans	29	11	38%	4		
Total	264	41	15½%	182	8	4½%

In Peyima most traders are Fula, other West Africans (mainly Maraka) and Temne. The Yalunka, though small in number are highly involved in trading. Sukudu has a similar pattern of Temne, Fula and mainly Mandingo traders. The small numbers show the unimportance of retail trade in Sukudu. But it is interesting to note

that 30% of houses surveyed had some kind of shop or stall in or attached to the building. These small unenthusiastic trading concerns are seldom run by one person, but may be watched by anyone who happens to be in the house, just in case someone should stop to buy something. They provide a small amount of extra income as well as supplying the family with basic consumer articles. Peyima has a higher percentage of its workforce engaged in trade than any of the other case study boom towns, and Sukudu has the smallest proportion of traders. But itinerant trading and street peddling in Africa often disguises unemployment, and large numbers of traders are as much indicative of poverty as of wealth.

Women and Children

As in the four towns studied in Nimikoro most women were housewives and did not do any extra work outside the family compound. However, families were larger in Peyima and Sukudu than in the other four towns. The number of children under 15 years was higher in Peyima and Sukudu, being 1.8 children per woman in Peyima, and 1.4 children per woman in Sukudu. Twenty-six percent of the female population of Peyima had jobs, and 35% of the women in Sukudu worked outside the household. The higher proportion in Sukudu is related to the larger number of Kono women who assist in farm work.

Table 55. Female occupations by Ethnic Group in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976.

	Trader	Farmer	Total Females	% Females working
Peyima				
Kono	1	14		
Fula	2	7		
Koranko	1	3		
Loko		2		
Mandingo	3	5		
Mende		2		
Susu	1	2		
Temne	1	5		
Yalunka		1		
Other West African		1		
Total	9	42	196	26%
Sukudu				
Kono	1	39		
Fula		1		
Koranko		2		
Mandingo	3	1		
Other West African		2		
Total	4	45	142	35%

It is interesting that most women are engaged in farming, even in Peyima. Mandingo women are more important as traders than any other group, and more Kono women are farming than any other ethnic group. Farming probably represents the supplementation of a falling income by the cultivation of subsistence crops, although undoubtedly many women must also sell some of their produce in the markets.

The education of children is classified in the same manner as in the Nimikoro case studies.[9] Table 56 shows the education of children, broken down by ethnic group, Kono/Non-Kono, of the householder, in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976. All figures are expressed as percentages of the total numbers of children in Kono or non-Kono households.

9. See Chapter 5.

Table 56. Education of Children in Peyima and Sukudu in 1976

		Total	Kono	Non-Kono
Peyima	Primary school	37	46	32
	Secondary school	5	4	5
Sukudu	Primary school	24	31	13
	Secondary school	3	4	1

The general observations that Kono households send more children to school than non-Kono households is similar in pattern to the Nimikoro case studies. Njalla and Bumpeh have slightly higher proportions of children in school than in Sukudu. The high proportion of children being educated in Peyima must be related to the larger families, the settled nature of the town, in comparison for example with Bumpeh, and also the wealth of Peyima. Secondary education being relatively expensive, it is not surprising to find a higher proportion of non-Kono families sending children to secondary school from Peyima, where the non-Kono families are dominant and wealthy anyway.

Conclusions and observations on the Case Studies of Diamond Boom Towns

The diamond boom towns of the Sierra Leone diamond fields represent a new settlement form and a new urbanised life style in this part of Africa. Even if they are an entirely transient phenomenon they will have played an important part in the urbanisation process in having given large numbers of people an introduction to urban living. These towns are entirely African in creation and construction. They are also features of an unusual occurrence, whereby the people of an African colony, along with immigrants from neighbouring states, seized control of the ex-

ploitation of one valuable natural resource of that country, diamonds. Now that there are few diamonds left it is possible that large numbers of former miners will depart from the diamond fields, leaving behind poor ghost towns, to migrate to other large centres, especially Freetown, which is already overcrowded with a quarter of a million people. Such a move would not be beneficial, either to the diamond areas or to Freetown. The prospect of vast numbers of unemployed ex-miners in the diamond areas or Freetown is not attractive either.

However, a basic conclusion from the study of these six small mining settlements suggests some degree of settlement and involvement in the mining areas by some of the non-Kono immigrants, and of diversification into other occupations. The new urban settlement pattern that has developed tends to be a tightly packed, expanded nucleus , with grid iron or linear extensions. Roads are assuming great importance in all towns, both through roads and access roads.

Peyima and Sukudu boomed during the early diamond rush and had the characteristics of diamond boom towns in the early 1960's. There is evidence of decline now, in terms of population loss and changes in the occupational structure, away from mining towards farming. Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Njalla and Bongema boomed mainly in the 1969/70 diamond rush and by 1976 show the characteristics of boom towns, with the possible exception of Njalla, which shows some evidence of stagnation.

Despite these differences there are no immense dissimilarities between Peyima and Sukudu and Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla. Bongema and Ndoyogbor emerge as boom villages with

central place functions and Bumpeh and Njalla as small towns like Peyima and Sukudu. The main comparisons of similarity can be made between Peyima and Bumpeh and Sukudu and Njalla. Population figures show the growth of Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor, Bongema and Njalla, and the decline of Peyima and Sukudu, but all the settlements have much larger populations at the end of the diamond era than in the pre-diamond era.

The construction of buildings in all places is fairly uniform, but Bumpeh and Peyima are generally better developed with more modern materials and amenities. In all places most of the buildings suggest a degree of permanence and stability. The age of construction of houses indicates the periods of boom and immigration and can be related to population fluctuations as shown by the taxpayer statistics.

The large household size, and small proportions of children or all male households along with the high incidence of relationship to the head of the household, all suggest stability, a strong family life and an immigrant population in the process of settling down. There is a similar pattern of house ownership in all the settlements, with higher proportions of Kono owning houses than non-Kono . But the proportion of non-Kono who do own their houses is significant and suggests their investment and settlement in the area.

The 1963 Census figures differentiate between the boom characteristics of Peyima and Sukudu and the less developed state of Bumpeh and Njalla. The age/sex structures indicated immigration in all four places, especially Peyima and Sukudu. Birthplace, showing the place of origin of immigrants, and tribe, indicated

the diversity of the population of these settlements. By 1975/76 the diversity had largely been intensified, except in Sukudu. Not only are the settlements ethnically diverse, but most households contain a diversity of different tribes. Islam is a common belief and culture to many of the groups and Krio serves as the language of communication in the diamond mining towns.

The 1976 statistics on birthplace show an increase in immigration from the Northern Province, especially Koinadugu District, and from Guinea. This migration was particularly associated with the 1969/70 diamond rush and the influx of Fula and Temne into Kono. The analysis of inter-diamond area migrants isolates the floating, mainly immigrant, mining population. There were high proportions of this sector in the boom towns of Njamikoro but low proportions in Peyima and Sukudu. It is possible that most of the hard core miners of Peyima and Sukudu had already left.

Occupation by ethnic group in 1963 and 1976 shows that the differences between Kono and non-Kono immigrants are apparent at all levels. There is a very strong relationship between ethnic group and occupation, with most Kono farming and few mining, while most non-Kono are mining with certain groups engaged in trade etc. The main occupations in the diamond settlements are mining, farming and trading. There is a similar relationship of ethnic group to occupation amongst women.

The education of children indicates that a slightly higher proportion of children from Kono households is sent to school, than from non-Kono households. But there is a significant proportion of non-Kono investing in their children's education to

re-affirm non-Kono settlement and family life in the area. Education is more important in Peyima and Bumpeh than in the smaller settlements.

Different ethnic groups occur in large numbers in different settlements, such as the Temne in Bumpeh, Fula in Bongema and Njalla, Mandingo in Sukudu, Gambians in Ndoyogbor and 'Marakas' in Peyima.

It is likely that many of the immigrant non-Kono, and Kono from peripheral parts of the district, who came to the small boom towns to mine diamonds will stay in the area once the diamonds run out. Many people have already ceased to mine. Increased population pressure on the land may even be a benefit to agriculture in providing a continued large market and in forcing a change from rotational bush fallow to permanent field cultivation, introducing new crops and encouraging the development of tree and other cash crops.

Step migration has been observed as an important process in Sierra Leone (Riddell 1970, Mills 1975). If the smaller boom towns decline, the chiefdom headquarters' towns are likely to receive many migrants. Tumbodu, in Kamara, has grown rapidly as Peyima and Sukudu have declined and is now a well established town with many urban functions. But ultimately the destination for many people will be Koidu, and upon the future of Koidu depends the future economy of Kono. Koidu is the primate boom town, the second city, and the source of a mass migration of disaffected people to Freetown if its economy should fail. Thus the most important boom town study is that of Koidu.

CHAPTER SEVEN

KOIDU

History

Provincial towns in Sierra Leone are relatively recent phenomena and few have been studied geographically in much detail, beyond a basic description of site, growth and major division of land use. Town studies that have been carried out show many similarities in form and functions (Harvey 1969). Studies of Kenema and Lunsar in 1964 by Gamble (S.L.G.A. 1964), were largely descriptive, but in describing the form and appearance of the towns it is clear that they are not excessively different from Koidu. Amenities, services, the Central Business District (C.B.D.), land-use divisions and ethnic diversity all resemble features in Koidu. The subsequent development of Koidu and Kenema since 1964 has been parallel, with Koidu emerging as the richer and larger of the two, while Kenema is better developed as the provincial capital, possessing a few manufacturing industries on a larger scale than anything in Koidu.

The four main provincial towns, with large commercial centres, are Bo, Makeni, Kenema and Koidu, of which Koidu is the only one that is not a provincial capital. The major wholesale diamond buying centres of Sierra Leone are Kenema, Bo, Koidu and Blama (Van der Laan, 1975). These large provincial towns, with Freetown, account for the main urban centres of Sierra Leone and contain most of the urban population of the country. Although the economy and future of these places, especially Bo, Koidu, Kenema and Makeni, may seem fragile, there is no alter-

native destination for a rapidly urbanising population. Only Monrovia, in neighbouring Liberia, is capable of attracting any of Sierra Leone's urban migrants, while Guinea has the reverse effect as tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of Guineans have left the poverty and oppression of their own country to make a living in the towns of Sierra Leone.

The process of urbanisation that takes place through these towns involves the spread and implementation of any modern ideas that enter the country. The attraction of new societies, religions, occupations, schools, youth movements and political parties is at its strongest in the towns and is of crucial importance in bringing about social change. The towns are also attractive destinations for the very reason of social change and a new lifestyle (Little, 1965). Koidu has grown so rapidly and with such wealth that it has condensed the whole time scale of the process of African urbanisation (Oliver, 1971).

Koidu is totally unplanned, and African in its form and character, but uses its wealth to bring in all the material objects of the western world. Yet despite the influx of western goods and materials, Koidu lacks the neo-colonial form and atmosphere prevalent in so many provincial African towns. The elite of Koidu consists mainly of rich men, many of them Muslim, with a rich Lebanese sector: the nouveaux riches of Africa. It is an elite dominated simply by wealth and display, instead of by of western educated administrators and professionals. Koidu is regarded by many western educated Sierra Leoneans, especially Freetown sophisticates, as a philistine

Plate 11. Koidu. Kainkordu Road, close to Gbense market, looking east.

Plate 12. Koidu. The central mosque in Main Kainkordu Road.

mammon, a lawless town thriving off illegal wealth. Undoubtedly it is all of this but it is also a place that is going in its own direction in defiance of the neo-colonial system that governs the exploitation of minerals. However, its population was not motivated by any political ideology, even if it did later seize upon radical nationalism. Most people living in Koidu have attempted to exploit the place, to get rich, to enjoy the first flush of wealth, to send money home, but without intentionally ploughing anything back into the development of the town. For the past two decades Koidu has always been judged and condemned by its superficial sensational moments of crime, violence and ostentatious display, its private wealth and public squalor. That it should have thrived through two decades of civic neglect is only proof of the strength and attraction of Koidu, not only as the lawless diamond centre, but also as a place in which to live, for the character of the place has changed considerably even since the height of the 1969/70 diamond rush.

It is the aim of this chapter to examine the urban functions and facilities of Koidu, and the occupations and origins of its population within the context of a spatial pattern of residential areas that are distinct and yet united into one settlement. Koidu is still a diamond mining town, but, like the other, smaller boom towns analysed earlier, it is increasingly a family settlement, a town rather than a mining camp. This is a description of a modern African town: its physical appearance, site, shape and land use. It is also a description of its population, its buildings, and of the variations of population, occupation, ethnicity

and migrants within different areas of that town. Harvey (1966) stated that there was no clear zoning pattern by occupation or ethnic group in Sierra Leone towns, while Bockarie (1974), in a later study of Koidu, suggested that there may be dominant ethnic groups in different sections. The detailed breakdown and correlation of residential areas with population characteristics presented in this chapter will show that some zoning patterns do emerge, thus extending the earlier descriptive studies of Koidu and suggesting the complexity of the town.

Koidu is officially called Koidu/New Sembehun, and used to be referred to as Sefadu, the name of the District Office settlement, which was originally the largest settlement, but which is now a suburb of the Koidu conurbation. This conurbation consists of the areas (previously separate settlements) of Koidu, Kpetema, Sefadu, Kamadu, Sinah Town, Samandu, Hill Station, and Kweor in Gbense Chiefdom and New Sembehun, the N.D.M.C. mining camps number 8, number 2/4 and Weyor, Swaray Town, Boroma/Koquima, New Boroma, Kensay, Saquee Town and Sakogbe in Tankoro Chiefdom. Figure 39 of Koidu in 1976 names these areas and indicates the chiefdom boundary along the Woyie river. The separate settlements of Gbaima and Old Sefadu are included in the Koidu/New Sembehun Town Council area for rate assessment, but are sufficiently separate from the main town to warrant their exclusion from this study. They are not on a road leading directly out of Koidu, but are on the Tumbodu road in the Meya valley, having to be approached via Boroma. For all other residential areas housing is virtually continuous along the roads leading out of Koidu.

Koidu thus began as a number of settlements and has grown by theprocess of agglomeration. The original settlements were farming hamlets on the ridges above the valleys of the Woyie, Meya and Moinde rivers. Yaradu was the Paramount Chief's village in the Moinde valley to the north of present-day Koidu. The Chief farmed at Koidu Kpoyo on the edge of the Woyie valley. A major footpath came into Kono from Panguma to Yaradu, crossing the Woyie valley at Koidu. The earliest farm at the end of the 19th century was not actually in the Woyie valley, but lay a little further north alongside the main track to Yaradu. After the Kissi War of 1905 had been successfully ended, the Kono, who had suffered considerable destruction of villages and crops, eagerly welcomed themore subtle invasion of British influence and made land available for the use of visiting District Commissioners. The site of Sefadu was a farming hamlet on the hills above the Woyie valley. At the same time more settlements were constructed along the track to Yaradu, closer to the Woyie valley with the Chief's farm having been moved on to the ridge directly above the ford, at the position of the present town centre roundabout. The track from Panguma (which was at that time the District Headquarters for Panguma and Kono Districts) crossed the Woyie and diverged, north to Yaradu, and north west to Sefadu.

Thus, between 1915 and 1925, the settlement at the crossroads grew larger, along with the new settlement at Sefadu, a mile away. This later became the District Office, with a court, a Messenger Barracks and neat colonial bungalows scattered spaciously among the trees. The ridge running along thenorthern edge

of the Woyie was more distinct as a feature of thelandscape and came to be used for the track leading east to Fiama, Lei, Soa, Mafindo and Gbane Kando chiefdoms. In 1929 the motor road from Segbwema came as far as the Woyie ford. It was later extended to Sefadu and links were made in 1930 to Jaiama Sewafe, Jagbwema and Kayima. Thus Koidu became the crossroads of the district and the settlement increased in size accordingly, up until 1950, with a further expansion of Sefadu also taking place.

South of the Woyie, in Tankoro Chiefdom, S.L.S.T. built its Sembehun number 2/4 labour quarters during 1935/36, beside the road that linked Kono with the south and the outside world. Other non-company housing grew up around the New Sembehun mining camp, so that before 1950 there were three distinct settlements along the ridges which bordered the Woyie and Meya valleys. But Koidu was centrally placed at the crossroads and started to develop simple commercial functions. The E.U.B mission was transferred from Yaradu to Koidu in 1931 and a school was built. The first Lebanese trader, Koussa, had settled at Koidu crossroads, opposite the mission, around 1936, and a mission dispensary was built half a mile to the east on the ridge, at the site of the present Opera Cinema and Post Office. Paul Dunbar arrived as Pastor at Koidu in 1943 and he and Koussa dabbled in illicit diamond buying during the 1940's (Dunbar 1976).

The Paramount Chief's Conference of 1948 was held in Koidu under the chairmanship of P. C. Kaimachende of Gbense. The village was too small to accommodate the influx of all the Paramount Chiefs of Kono and their retinues, so each Chief was allowed

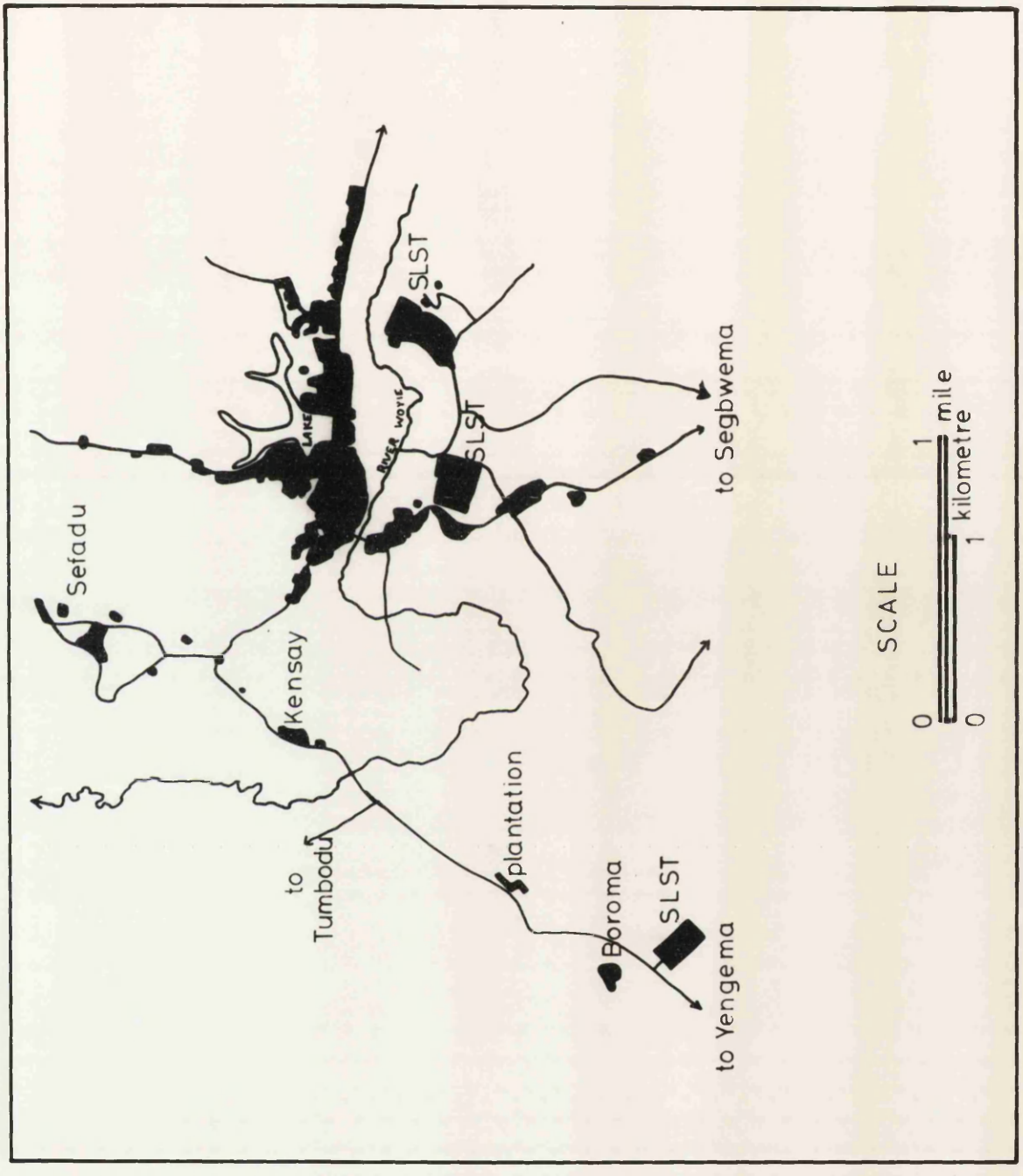

Figure 37. Site and form of Koidu in 1958

to build a house for himself on the ridge at Koidu. This resulted in every chief of Kono gaining a vested interest in central Koidu, where they later built larger houses which they rented to illicit miners. Kaimachende built his compound to the east of the crossroads just above the river. After the conference Kaimachende decided to remain at Koidu. Illicit mining was by then a problem and S.L.S.T. with the Government officials decided to prevent any further growth of Koidu. A political struggle persisted between Kaimachende and the District Commissioner until 1952. After that Kaimachende was permitted to remain at Koidu and no further restriction was placed on the growth of the town. By 1950 there were 80 houses.

Growth of the town then accelerated in an unplanned radial form along the ridges. S.L.S.T. workings created artificial lakes which effectively split up the town, severely limiting expansion and resulting in excessive population concentration in the Koidu and New Sembehun nuclei, immediately beside the river Woyie. Growth of New Sembehun gradually took place southwards along the Segbwema Road, whereas Koidu spread east along Kainkordu Road, west along Yengema Road towards Sefadu and later north along Yaradu Road beside Gbassan Lake. This pattern continued until the mid 1970's, with much infilling between the main routes. Figure 37[1] shows the shape of Koidu in 1958, when there were 650 houses. The separate settlements were quite distinct.

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1. Figure 37 was drawn from air photographs, courtesy of the Geography Department, Fourah Bay College.

S.L.S.T. workers in the New Sembehun mining camp were overcrowded and continued to move out to build houses in the surrounding area (Bockarie, 1974). Illicit mining boomed in Koidu. Not only was the Woyie valley the kimberlite source area, but the original number 2/4 plant used by S.L.S.T. to wash gravel at Koidu had been very inefficient, resulting in tailings that contained many unrecovered diamonds, even including some very large stones. The company had intended to remine the tailings later (Gervis, 1971), but illicit miners did the job instead, very effectively and in overwhelming numbers. On one occasion in 1965 up to 3,000 illicit miners were seen working the tailings and gravel of the Woyie stream below the old 2/4 plant site. The S.L.S.T. security force at that time was 900 strong (S.L.S.T., 1969). In their anti-I.D.M. propaganda, S.L.S.T. accused illicit miners of digging up roads and damming streams in Koidu, a method of mining which they had undoubtedly copied from S.L.S.T. There were fluctuations in the openness and numbers involved in diamond digging, but even in 1976 several hundred illicit miners could be seen every day re-digging and washing the same gravel and still finding diamonds. Once again the foundations of Barclays Bank were being undermined. Some house owners, principally rich Konos, were knocking down the buildings which were sited on diamondiferous gravel and leasing tiny plots at exhorbitant prices for mining. Many illicit miners in the mid 1960's to mid 1970's were also based in Koidu, but working in the Meya valley around Penduma and Old Sefadu, where some massiveillicit operations took place.[2] This lack of control,

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2. Information supplied by N.D.M.C. 15.1.1976.

combined with the central position of Koidu and the immense richness of the surrounding deposits, has contributed to the mercurial growth of the town.

There have been many stranger drives, especially in 1956 when large numbers of people actually left, although it is likely that many returned in 1958 (Bockarie, 1974). During the early 1960's Koidu grew less rapidly, but its functions diversified. It was during this period that basic facilities were planned and constructed. By the mid-1960's Koidu had two secondary schools, ten petrol stations, a Bank, Post Office, four office buildings, a rest house, a hospital, ten dispensaries, six primary schools, a bookshop, car dealer, cinema, electric generator, hotel, library and community centre, police station, taxi and public transport, and a telephone system (Bockarie, 1974). The expansion of shops and supermarkets followed during the mid to late 1960's, with an increase in recreational facilities when new cinemas, restaurants, night clubs and a casino were opened.

Then the 1969/70 diamond rush occurred with a great influx of new migrants to Koidu, especially Temne and other northerners, after their party had come to political power talking of nationalising S.L.S.T. Koidu probably reached its peak of overcrowding and population size in the early 1970's (Gervis, 1970). The 1969/70 period was extremely wild, with excessive displays of wealth, Lebanese dealers carrying guns in hip holsters and different factions feuding so bitterly as to drag in politicians and attempts to frame rivals with fabricated crimes (Van der Laan, 1975, pp. 204-206). Central Kono reputedly had the largest number of

Mercedes Benzes per 100 people of any place in the world at that time.[3] Koidu hit the headlines during that period with sensational accounts of murders (Unity 2.2.71), armed robberies (Nation 5.10.71.), riots (Unity, 18.6.70. and 13.11.70.) and theft of diamondiferous gravels (Nation 8.11.71.).[4]

The Kono radical parties, K.P.M., S.L.P.I.M., and D.P.C. were centred in Koidu, deriving much dissatisfaction from the lack of investment in Kono, especially in Koidu, and were strongly pro-I.D.M. and anti-S.L.S.T. Kaimachende was S.L.P.P. but had good relations with strangers in Koidu although he repressed all opposition to himself during the S.L.P.P. period (Minikin, 1971). His successor in 1971 reputedly bribed his way to power (Nation 6.9.71.); an illiterate taxi driver, who was unable to stand up to the power of the D.O. and Town Clerk, who were thus enabled to dominate the running of Koidu during the mid 1970's. Politics also spilled over into violence and riots (Unity 19.9.70. and 13.11.70.). Against this background sensationalised journalism further exaggerated the 'Wild West' town (Daily Telegraph Magazine 21.3.69.).

Table 57. House counts in Koidu between 1920 and 1976.

Year	1920	1951	1958	1966	1970	1974	1976
No. of houses	20	80	650	1100	2700	4708	5050
Mean Annual Growth Rate		9.6%	102%	9%	36%	19%	3.6%

3. Interview with A. A. Koroma of N.D.M.C. 15.1.1976.

4. These newspaper reports merely represent a selection of the items frequently appearing about occurrences in Kono.

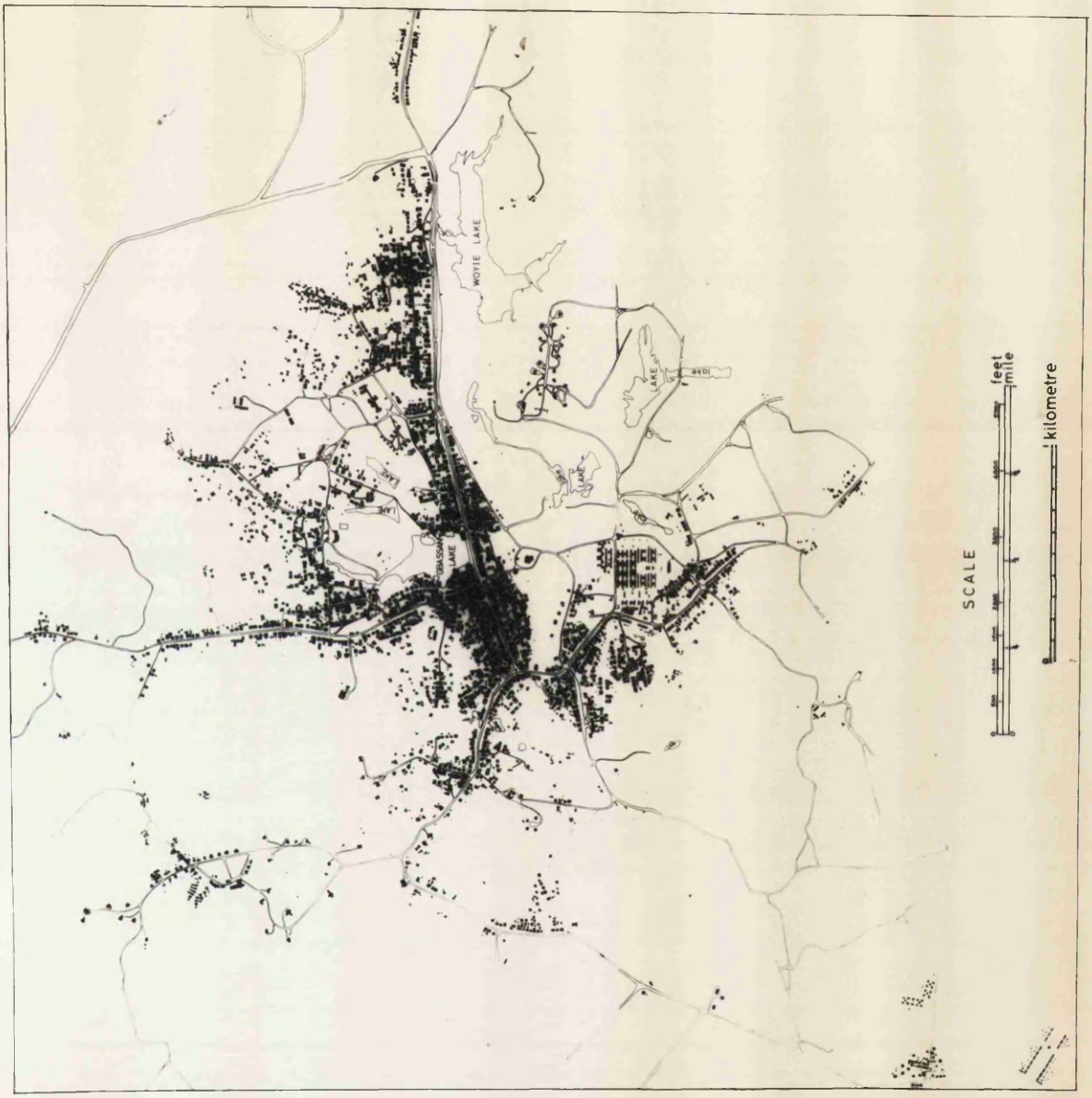

Figure 38. Roads and buildings in Koidu in 1967

During the turbulent years the number of houses in Koidu quadrupled, between 1966 and 1976. New suburbs which had grown steadily after the initial rush, suddenly exploded in size, especially such areas as Hill Station. During the 1970's the new Masingbi Road was completed, linking Koidu directly with Freetown. Gbassan Lake which had dominated the centre of Koidu was drained. The lake area has since been turned into the new Gbense market, easing congestion on Kainkordu Road, and housing has filled in some of the intervening low lying areas. The Masingbi Road is of great importance in ensuring the survival of Koidu as a commercial centre, in reducing prices and making more goods available, enhancing inter-urban mobility and extending Koidu's influence as a market centre (Blair, Kono Road, 1972). It has also aided the building boom and extended Koidu along the main road. Some of the increase in housing after 1969/70 can also be attributed to the extension of the town council boundary to encompass outlying suburbs like Boroma. Also the 1974 total of houses includes Old Sefadu and Gbaima whereas the 1976 figure, taken from the Land Use Survey does not include these places.[5]

Figures 37, 38 and 39 showing Koidu in 1958, 1967 and 1976 indicate the change in form from the fragmented nuclei of the 1950's, to the twin town linear growth of the 1960's and the

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5. House count figures for 1920, 1951, 1958, 1966 and 1970 are taken from Gervis: Development Proposals for central Kono, op.cit.; 1974 figure supplied by Koidu/New Sembehun Town Council, and 1976 figure from research on Land Use Survey.

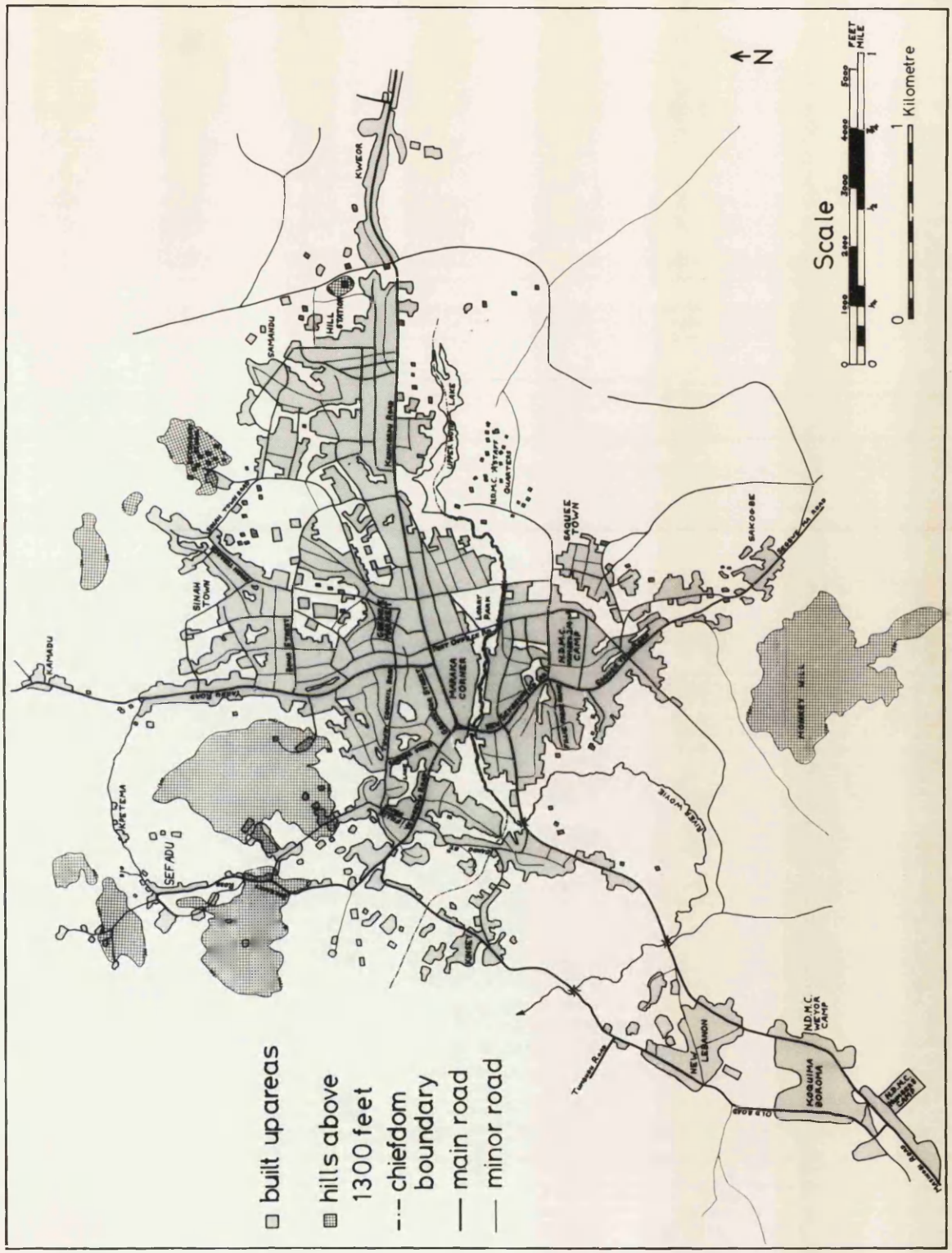

Figure 39. Roads and built-up areas in Koidu in 1976

infilled core still extending in linear fashion by the 1970's.[6] The town plans indicate the nuclei as well as the extent of growth. Figure 38 shows the pattern of housing as it was in 1967. Most of these buildings still stood in 1976, but with many more new houses filling in the open spaces. The Woyie stream remains as a divide and there is some duplication of functions and services on each side of the river, but as roads across the Woyie are improved and increased, so Koidu in Gbense, has come to dominate.

The town council was formed in 1969 after the collapse of the Kono District Council. The first administration of Koidu was reputedly very corrupt and very little was done between 1969 and 1973. The council is concerned with the maintenance of the town, sanitation, revenue and recreation. Only some parts of Koidu have piped water, and electricity power cuts are frequent because demand for electricity outstrips supply. Since 1973 the council has created a grid pattern of streets by bulldozing straight lines, and after renaming most streets is engaged on a programme of paving 82 miles of roads in the town. Rates are collected and used much more effectively, and licence dues are enforced on stalls and businesses in Koidu.[7]

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6. Town Plans: 1958 map compiled from air photographs, courtesy of Fourah Bay Geography Department; 1967 map compiled from air photograph mosaic of central Kono, supplied by courtesy of Selection Trust, London; 1976 map compiled from infra-red air photographs, by courtesy of Ministry of Lands and Mines, and Land Resources Survey Unit, Freetown.

7. Interview with Mr. Konomanyi, Town Clerk to Koidu New Sembehun Town Council, December 1974.

The population in early 1974 may have been up to 100,000 people and was certainly above 80,000. As a result of inflation, stranger drives, exaggerated claims of diamond finds in Bo District and the census, an exodus of between 20,000 and 40,000 people took place from Koidu in November and December 1974. Some of the very big diamond dealers moved out, both Fula and Lebanese, and for several months the town was extremely quiet. A proportion of these people seem to have returned. Koidu's population is now undoubtedly past its peak of the early 1970's, although it no longer seems to be in decline.

The new road and improvements in transport resulted in the Koidu/Yengema urban area which extends to Bumpeh as a virtually continuous chain of small towns and villages. Within this area population mobility is very high, traffic is dense and Koidu clearly dominates a much larger area as the commercial urban centre (Gervis, 1970).

Thus some stability has come to Koidu. The slowing down of immigration has enabled the present more determined Town Council to catch up in the supply of basic facilities. Functions, services, commercial premises etc., have all increased in number. There is still a lack of industry and alternative employment; a problem common throughout most of Africa. The proposals contained in the report on development in central Kono (Gervis 1970) were very ambitious and largely have not been implemented, especially in relation to the provision of jobs and industries. Little investment has taken place in Koidu, mainly because public money is not available. The development proposals directly related to town planning in Koidu were able to be implemented by the Town Council and many of these improvements have been made.

Harvey suggests the impermanence of mining towns, giving the example of Hangha which had declined. Gamble's account of Lunsar in 1964 describes a well established, prosperous mining town; a very different picture to that of the moribund state of Lunsar since the Delco iron ore mine closed. But both these towns were built by expatriate mining companies, like Yengema, and served no other major purpose. Koidu developed as a trading town and centre in its own right. As the diamonds are exhausted Koidu must rely on its commercial role. The following sections of this chapter show the extent to which Koidu has developed as an urban centre and the structure of the population within it.

Population of Koidu

The physical size and attributes of Koidu have clearly increased at a remarkable pace, but as a delayed response to population influx. The population of the town has fluctuated considerably during the diamond era.

Table 58. Population totals and sex structures in Koidu.

	1963 Census	1974 Census	1976 17% Sample
Total population	15,482	75,600 (Nath 1975)	10,125
Children	5,527		3,971
Men	5,680		3,420
Women	4,275		2,734

The 1963 Census figures include Koidu, New Sembehun and Sefadu. If all the villages and outlying settlements that are now fully part of Koidu are included in the total, the population of Koidu in 1963 was 17,291. The 1974 Census total includes a

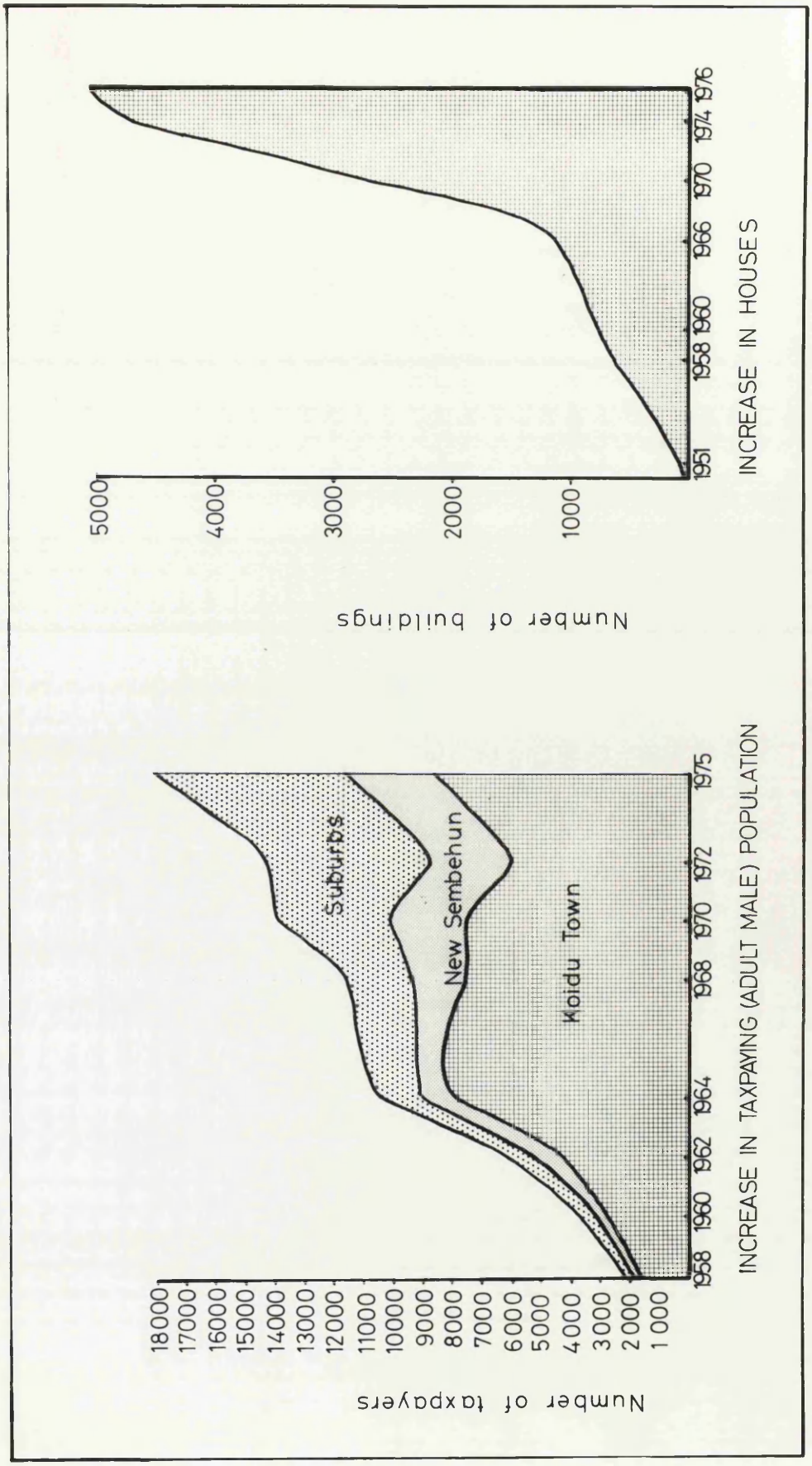

Figure 40. Growth of Koidu

correction of 10% (Nath, 1975). As this correction was an increase, the actual population count in 1974 would have been 68,000.

In 1963 the ratio of women and children to one man was 1.77 while in 1976, there were 1.96 women and children to every man. The 1970 Development Report for central Kono based population estimates on the number of persons per house, and house counts. The unit of housing was a town lot, on which two and sometimes even three buildings may be erected. Studies of aerial photographs enabled estimates of population to be made, based on at least 20 persons per housing lot and a maximum of 28. The low estimate for Koidu in 1970 was 53,000 and the high estimate 66,000 (Gervis, 1970, Table 3). The 1976 household survey showed that there was an average of 12.3 persons per building. Density of population per building had undoubtedly reached its peak in the early 1970's. An estimate of 20 people per house (rather than housing lot) in 1973, when there were at least 4,500 houses would have given Koidu a population of up to 90,000. Estimates of population in 1976 based on the household surveys suggest 62,000 people, if based on house occupancy, and 60,000 if based upon the 17% sample of the survey, although this sample is related to the number of buildings.

To accurately state the population of the town at any given moment is not easy. The trends of population increase can be seen from a study of taxpaying populations, although projections are difficult to make.

Figure 40 shows the increase in houses and adult male taxpaying populations. The taxpaying figures include all the pop-

ulations of Koidu Town, New Sembehun, Saquee Town, Swaray Town, Boroma, New Boroma, Sakogbe, Kensay, Kpetema, Kweor, Kamandu, Sinah Town and Samandu. These outlying places are referred to on the graph as suburbs and it can be seen that their growth has been consistent. New Sembehun grew slowly, almost stagnating during the early 1970's, while Koidu Town actually declined. The movement of men to theouter suburbs was probably connected with the I.D.M. activities of these places. But the population fluctuations of Koidu are complicated by stranger drives and politics.

Table 59. Projections on taxpaying population of Koidu.

	Taxpayers (70%)	Add 30% not paying	Possible Total Men	Total population : 1963 Ratio	Population 1976 Ratio
1958	2,184	936	3,120	8,630	
1960	3,721	1,595	5,316	14,704	
1962	6,140	2,631	8,771	24,260	
1963 Census			5,680	15,482	
1964	10,544	4,519	15,063	41,664	
1968	11,570	4,959	16,529		48,893
1970	13,937	5,973	19,910		58,894
1972	14,259	6,111	20,370		60,254
1975	18,131	7,770	25,901		76,616

The increase of taxpaying population by three-sevenths, to allow for the possible proportion not paying is only a very rough projection. It seems more likely that tax collection efficiency has improved in recent years, and fewer men escape paying it. A population projection for 1975 based on the actual taxpaying population would give a figure of only 53,600. The projection based

on the adult male taxpaying population has been brought about by multiplying the figures by the ratio of women and children to men. Clearly this ratio has continually changed, but only two ratios have been used here, based on the 1963 census and the 1976 household surveys. In comparison with the projected totals, the 1963 census figure would appear to have been a considerable undercount, while the 1974 census total of 75,600 represents the upper limit of the projected figures for Koidu. The gap between 1972 and 1975 when insufficient taxpayer statistics were available does not take account of the 1974 exodus of population. It must merely be concluded that the population of Koidu in 1976 was most likely in the region of 65,000 people .

Population and housing density were calculated for each of the forty enumeration areas. It was expected to show some pattern, principally a decline in density with distance from the C.B.D. However, no clear relationship existed, so the full table of statistics has not been reproduced here.

Table 60. Population density in Koidu.

Persons per house : mean	12.3
Persons per room : mean	2.5
Rooms per house : mean	4.9
Area of Koidu	356 hectares
Houses per hectare : mean	14
Mean persons per hectare	174
A) Areas adjacent to C.B.D.	225 persons per hectare
B) Outer central areas	166 persons per hectare
C) Semi peripheral areas	253 persons per hectare
D) Peripheral areas	184 persons per hectare

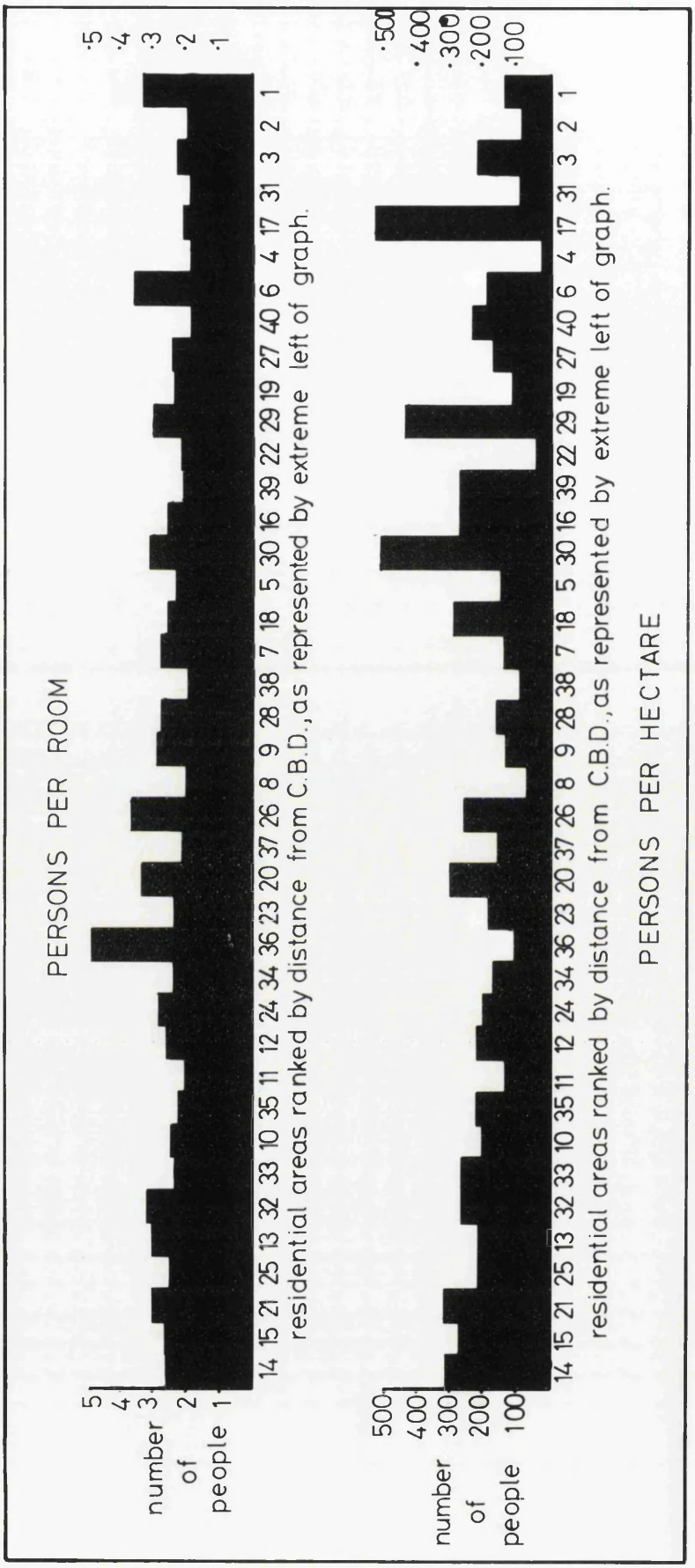

Figure 41. Population density of Koidu

Some of the outer suburbs like Hill Station, areas 29 and 30, have relatively high densities as do I.D.M. villages such as Kamadu, area 17. Population density in Koidu is considerably lower than in the six smaller case study settlements, although individual areas have much higher densities than those settlements. Population per room in the whole of Koidu is higher than in the small case study towns, whereas the number of rooms per house falls within the limits of the small boom towns. In Koidu the number of persons per room varied from 1.8 in the village of Sakogbe, area 40, to 4.8 in the New Sembehun N.D.M.C. workers' camp, area 36. The number of buildings per hectare also varied enormously between 5.2 in New Lebanon, area 4, and 44.7 in Kamadu, area 17; a predictable difference between the large, spacious dwellings of the Lebanese and the small crowded mud huts of the village. The number of rooms per house varied from 1.3 in the New Sembehun N.D.M.C. labour camp, to 6.4 in the wealthy central area of Maraka Corner, area 15.

However, the most significant pattern emerges when values of persons per room, showing levels of overcrowding, and persons per hectare, indicating actual population density, are ranked by distance from the C.B.D. In figure 41 the extreme left of the graphs represents the C.B.D., while the right hand side, area 1, is furthest from the C.B.D. The number of persons per room fluctuates, but there is a general, very slight, gradient downwards from left to right, suggesting that population density per room is slightly lower in more peripheral areas than in areas closest to the town centre. However, the average of 2.5 per room is

clearly close to the norm, without many excessive divergences. It is interesting that institutional or rent free accommodation provided for District Office and N.D.M.C. employees has the smallest number of rooms per house, and thus shows the greatest rate of overcrowding.

Population density of persons per hectare indicates greater fluctuation with distance from the C.B.D. The first two regions (A and B) close to the centre, show a pattern of decreasing density, without any areas of marked divergence from the norm. Peripheral and semi-peripheral areas then exhibit great divergences between sparsely populated and densely populated areas. Area 22 is a newly developed section where houses are starting to extend across land occupied by the former Gbasean Lake. Areas 30 and 29 are core areas of Hill Station. Area 8 is the wealthy and spacious Fillie Drive. Suburbs built in European style for wealthy people, may have the lowest densities, but central areas like Gbongbor Street, 14, Maraka Corner, 15, and Dabundeh Street/ Kainkordu Road, 25, are also wealthy, though quite densely populated. Density in some of the more peripheral parts of Koidu is probably determined by the amount of inhabitable land available, between swamps, lakes, and diamond deposits.

Thus although distance from the C.B.D. is very important in the siting and distribution of commercial and manufacturing premises, the pattern of population density is less obviously affected. Semi-peripheral areas with the highest mean density per hectare represent areas settled in large numbers during the 1969/70 diamond rush, having access both to the town centre and to the

diamond swamps. There are no areas close to the centre of Koidu with low densities of population.

The 1963 Census report only supplied detailed information about the age/sex structure and occupations of Koidu, New Sembehun and Sefadu.[8]

Table 61. Ethnic Groups in Gbense and Tankoro Chiefdoms in 1963

Ethnic Group	%	Ethnic Group	%
Creole	½	Susu	2
Fula	4	Temne	4
Kissi	6	Yalunka	½
Kono	52	Other Sierra Leoneans	4
Koranko	4		
Limba	5	Non-Sierra Leoneans	1
Mandingo	10		
Mende	7	Total	100

All figures are in percentages

Large parts of both these chiefdoms lie outside the diamond mining area and contain many rural villages. Consequently, the Konos were the dominant group in the area. As the population of Koidu has subsequently risen, the proportion of Kono, not only in Koidu, but in the whole of central Kono, has fallen in relation to the influx of strangers. Large numbers of Mandingo have been settled in Kono for all of this century, hence their position as the second largest group. The slightly above average proportion of Mende is probably associated with their dominance in the S.L.S.T. workforce. There are also large numbers of Mende present in the

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8. The computer line print-outs of the Kono Road Project, Institute of African Studies, which were used to compile statistics of the six smaller case study settlements, were not complete for all of Koidu.

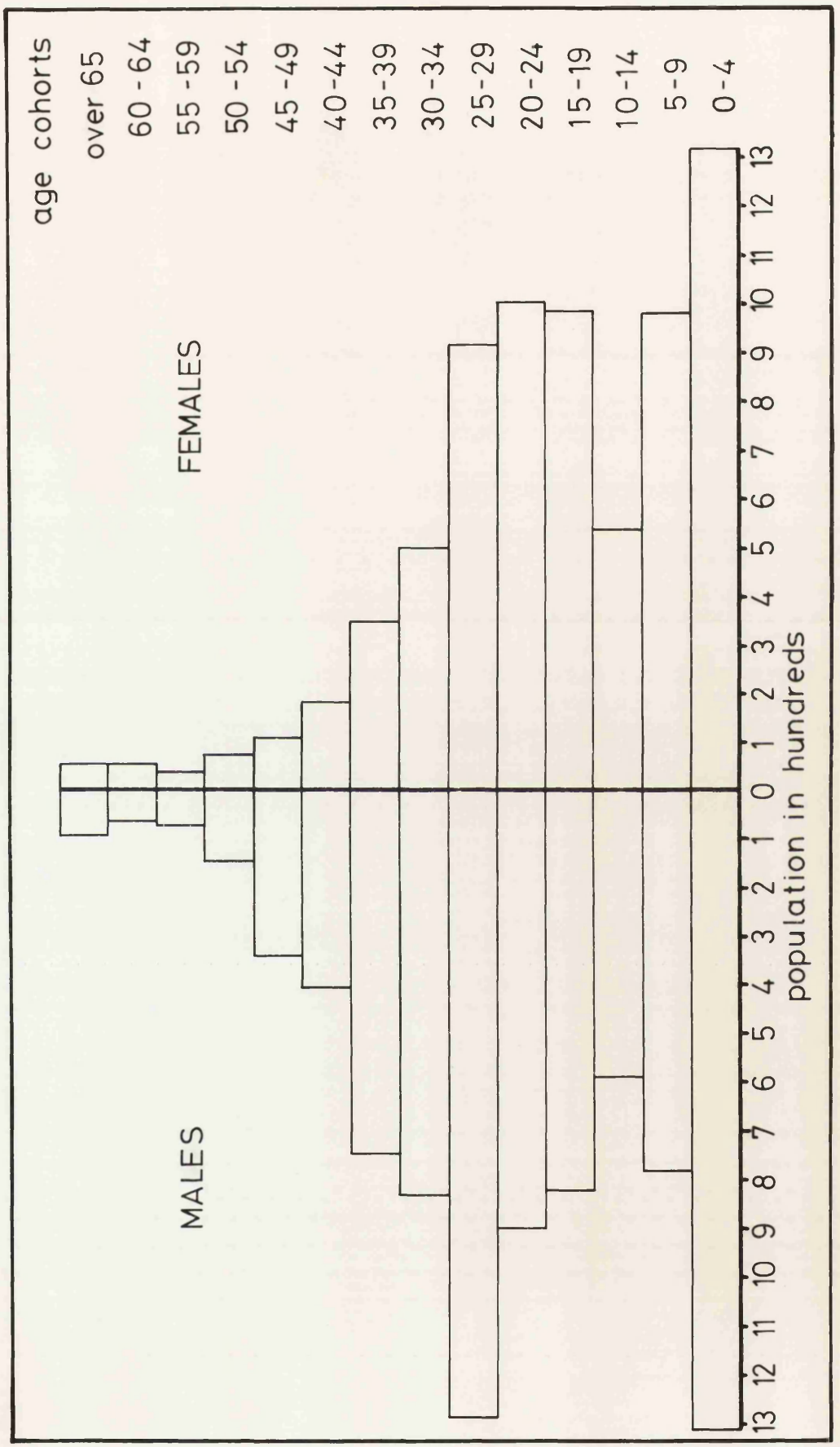

Figure 42. Age/sex structure of Koidu in 1963

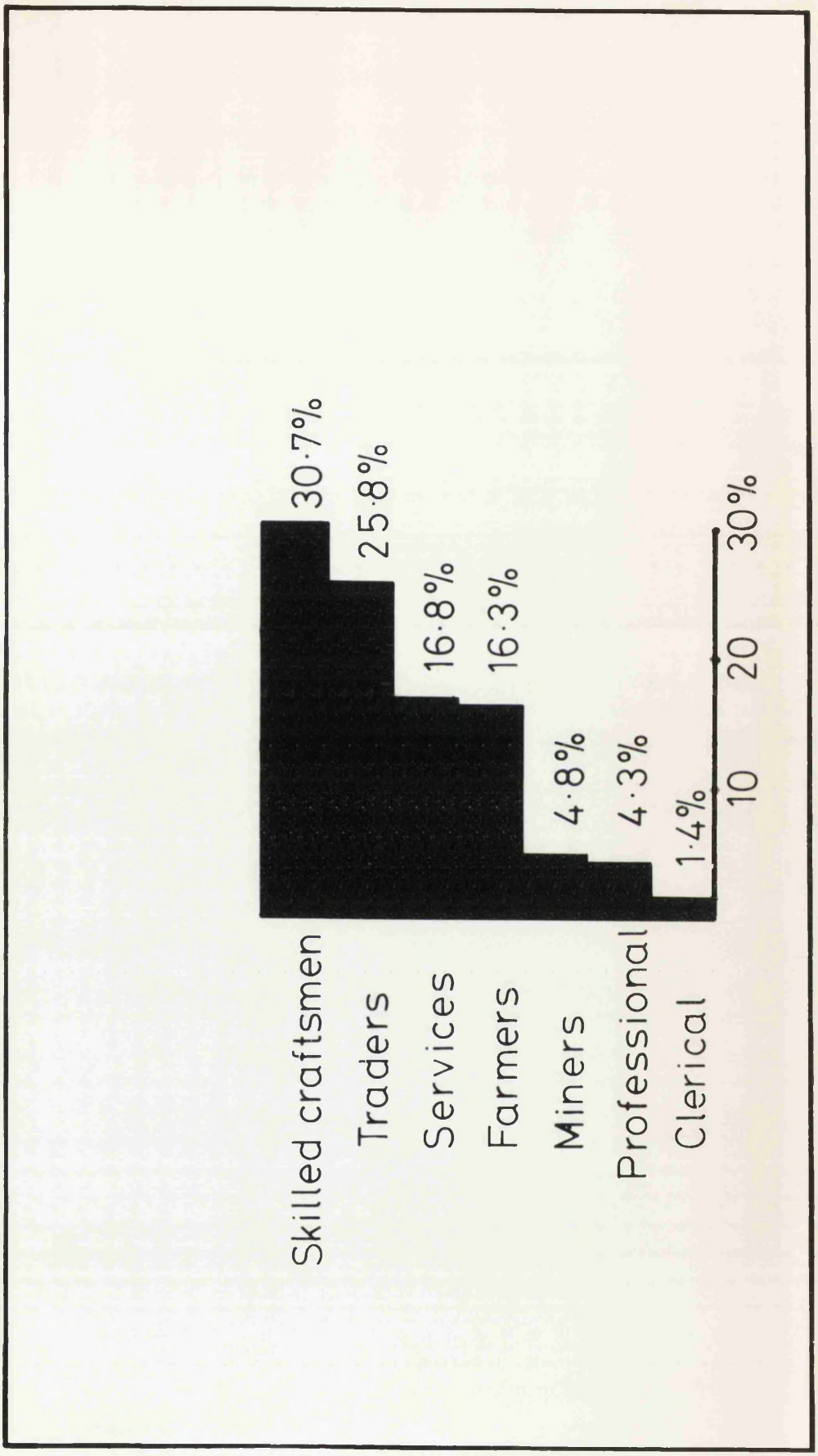

Figure 43. Occupations of the population of Koidu in 1963

villages of southern Kono. The Kissi are resident in Kono, and spread throughout central Kono, usually settling in separate villages, at the time of the Kissi War at the beginning of this century.

Statistics of nationality were available for Koidu and New Sembehun in 1963. Sierra Leoneans formed 88.6% of the population of the town, 10% were African non-Sierra Leonean, and 1.3% were non African.

The age/sex structure of Koidu, New Sembehun and Sefadu in 1963 is shown in figure 42. The imbalance is typical of an area of intense immigration. The child population, between 0 and 14 years, declined quite uniformly. Then there is a bulge of young adults, with 54% of the population in the town aged 15 to 39 years, while men of that age group formed 30% of the whole population. But even then there were a lot of children for a town so young.

Figure 43 shows occupations of the people in Koidu, New Sembehun and Sefadu in 1963. The excessive number of skilled craftsmen could not have been profitably employed in a town the size of Koidu. Many of the illicit miners would clearly not admit to a government employed census enumerator that they were living in Koidu for the purpose of breaking the law. Many of the non-Sierra Leonean diamond diggers are believed to have avoided the census altogether; 1963 was only a short time after the stranger drives of 1956 and the years of extensive smuggling in the late 1950's.

The 1976 household survey elicited more truthful replies. By this time tolerance of I.D.M. seemed to have become accepted,

the respondents were not asked to state their names, and it was not a government survey.

Results of 1975/76 Field Work

Although earlier surveys and the census provided statistical information, it is difficult to observe any trends or patterns from their results. The 1969 household surveys of the urban areas of Eastern Province classed Koidu and Yengema together. There are immense differences between the two towns, especially between the S.L.S.T./N.D.M.C. camps with their smaller families and stable incomes and the large extended families of the Koidu diamond dealers: the reputedly richest Fula diamond dealer in Koidu supported a family of about 300 people. However, both towns were clearly the richest in Sierra Leone, outside Freetown.

Table 62. Monthly income and rent in the main towns of Sierra Leone: compiled from the 1969 household survey.

	Average monthly income per person. Leones	% earning over Le.100 per month per household	% earning over Le.200 per month per household	Average rent per month Leones
Koidu/Yengema	Le.13	24%	10%	Le.22
Kenema	Le. 8	8%	2%	Le. 9
Makeni	Le. 6	11%	2%	Le.11
Bo	Le. 7	8%	3%	Le. 9
Freetown	Le.11	10%	2%	Le. 9

It is also clear from the indication of rental values that Koidu and Yengema were the most expensive towns in Sierra Leone.

The consumer price index (Household Survey, 1969, Table 11) for all the diamond areas shows an index rise from the base year of 1961 to 121.5 by the second quarter of 1971. While this rise is not excessive, the peak in the prine index occurred in the first quarter of 1970 when the diamond rush was also at its peak. Also of interest is the fluctuation in the price index each quarter, rising to a peak in the first quarter when diamond mining is most active and declining to a low in the third quarter when the wet season inhibits diamond mining.

Table 63. Family type in the main towns of Sierra Leone: compiled from the 1969 household survey.

	Others	Husband, Wife and Family Households	Multi-wife and family households	Single Parent Family households	Single Person or unrelated Persons
Koidu/ Yengema	22	55	13	2	7
Kenema	29	49	9	1	16
Makeni	23	37	18	13	9
Bo	12	39	10	7	11
Freetown	25	59	5	11	17

All figures are in percentages

The mean family and household size averages out the wide divergences between diamond diggers and large extended families. The low proportion of single person households was below that of all other major towns. The average number of persons per household in Koidu/Yengema in 1969 was 5.5, while the mean for all urban areas in Eastern Province was 5.9. A high proportion of

householders were renting accommodation in 1969, a situation which had changed by 1976.

Table 64. Percentage distribution of tenure in Koidu/Yengema: compiled from the 1969 household survey.

	Koidu/Yengema	All Eastern Province
Owners	20.5	30.2
Renters	56.5	48.1
Rent free and others	23.0	21.7
All households	100.0	100.0

Besides the monetary wealth of the population of Koidu and Yengema, a considerable proportion, 32%, owned trees, animals or had made farms or gardens. The highest figure was 15.8% of all households owning animals and 3.6% owning trees (Household Survey, 1969). This situation has undoubtedly continued, but this information was not asked for in the 1976 survey.

The surveys carried out in 1975/76[9] recorded the land use of the whole of Koidu and the household characteristics of 17% of the buildings in Koidu. There were two problems in defining different areas of Koidu; many street names had just been changed and the most recent plan of Koidu was the 1967 air photo mosaic. Using that plan as a basis, new areas of housing in 1975 were sketched in from observation, and the town was divided into forty enumeration areas for the purposes of the household and land use surveys. Firstly, all distinct suburbs and areas of

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9. The household survey was done in late December 1975 and the Land Use Survey in August 1976. Both are referred to as 1976 surveys.

the town were isolated. This division was quite straightforward as there are often gaps or open spaces between different areas. Residents of Koidu, especially young people born and raised there, were very precise about where different areas began and ended, and were aware of the different characteristics of these areas, even if none were clearly visible. As these areas were generally quite large they were subdivided by the major roads running through them, in which the centre of the road was taken as the boundary between enumeration areas. Major roads had to be used as boundaries, as some areas could not be further subdivided. Area 15, for example, referred to as Maraka Corner, or the Chief 's Compound (meaning Kaimachende the ex-Paramount Chief of Gbense) has no motorable road running through it, but is a tightly packed mass of buildings separated by twisting alleys often only a few feet wide, reminiscent of a North African walled town.

Consequently some of the forty enumeration areas were larger and contained more houses than others, but being well defined there was no danger of overlap or double counting in the surveys. To partially rectify this imbalance, twenty areas had twenty households surveyed, and twenty had ten surveyed. Households were selected with reference to the number of streets in each area, and the number of houses in each street, so that the sample was scattered equally throughout the whole enumeration area. The samples of households within individual areas ranged between 7% and 25% with 17% as the mean overall sample.

The household questionnaire was the same as the one used in the six smaller case study settlements. Six hundred households were surveyed. Not only was it possible to compile information about the whole town, but also the characteristics of each of the forty enumeration areas have been calculated. When the 1976 air photographs became available it was possible to make a map of Koidu indicating every motorable street and the limit of the built up area.[10] Figure 39 shows the full extent of Koidu in 1976 and the most precise limit of the built up area, with every isolated house lot. All other maps use a simplification of the built up area and do not indicate outlying buildings. The original base map, used in the compilation of all subsequent maps, showed every street and alley, but these have been excluded from final maps.

The land use survey of Koidu was carried out by observation, by street. All uses of each house in each street and along each alley were recorded by a coded notation, for each street or section of a street. In the absence of a town plan which showed every house, it was possible instead to indicate every item of land use by a symbol, in its position on each street. By this method the position of each land use symbol is accurate to within one hundred feet of its current position. At the scale of the land use maps one hundred feet is relatively insignificant. The

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10. 1976 infra-red air photographs by courtesy of Ministry of Lands and Mines. As only the original of each photograph was available for restricted use the quality of the enlarged copy was not clear enough to enable a tracing of every house to be made. The 1976 maps of Koidu are traced from the air photograph on which Koidu occurred directly in the centre, but some distortion has occurred in enlargement. Thus the 1976 maps of Koidu are intended as diagrammatic representations of information rather than as accurate maps from which precise measurements may be taken.

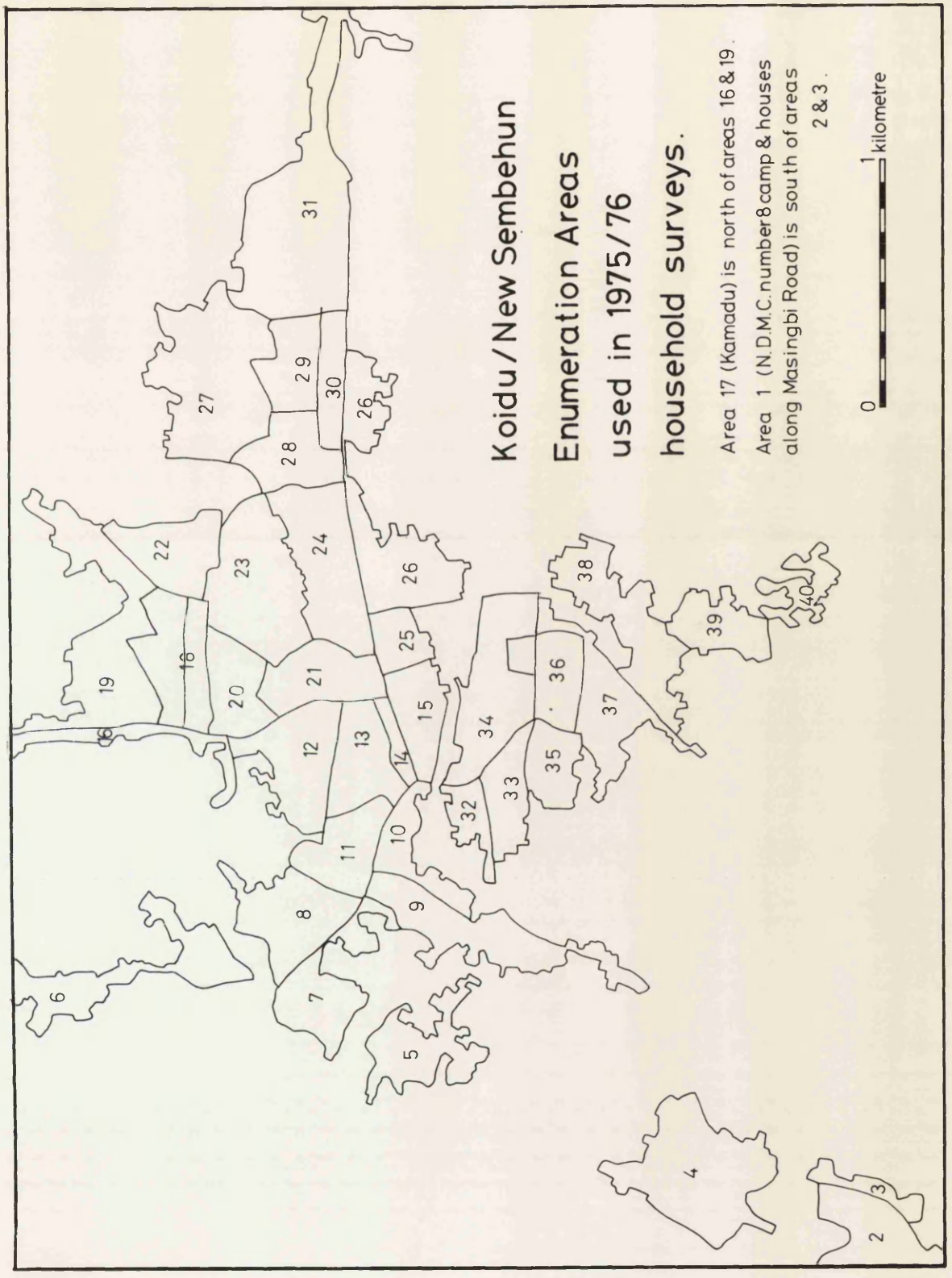

Figure 44. Enumeration areas used in surveys of Koidu in 1976

land use maps of Koidu show the distribution of all items. This presents a more accurate picture than the method of assigning overall land use patterns to whole areas.

Figure 44 shows the forty enumeration areas as used in the household and land use surveys. The inclusion of areas 1, 17 and the remainder of 31 on this map would have necessitated a much smaller scale, such as that used in figure 39.

a) Land Use in Koidu:

The commercial core of Koidu has not changed since the town first began to grow, although it has extended along the main roads, as the town itself has radiated outwards. Koidu is a high density town and its commercial core has been dominated by the physical shape and extent of the ridges on which the town was built. In 1965 the commercial core lay along Yaradu, Kainkordu, Yengema and New Sembehun Roads (Harvey, 1966, volume II). The only other areas of the town that could be assigned a general land use description were the government housing areas of the District Office at Sefadu and the mining camps of New Sembehun. The patterns of housing, the spacious bungalows of the professional and clerical class and the uniform straight rows of the workers' housing blocks, in these areas are substantially different from the rest of the town. Harvey noted that in 1965 (Harvey, 1966) S.L.S.T. restrictions on house building had kept such settlements as Kensay distinct from the rest of Koidu. As the company's influence declined, especially after the Sierra Leone government took control in 1970, housing expanded to absorb such villages that lay on the edge of rich diamond deposits. Harvey

also observed that all tailors were to be found inside the market, there was no major church, and only two petrol stations, although there were two cinemas, the community centre and football stadium. Many roads in the mid 1960's were unusable, the water supply was inadequate and the river polluted. Since that time there has been a very rapid increase in businesses and commerce.

Most businesses and commercial enterprises in Koidu are at a fairly simple and basic level. Capital amassed from diamond mining, both through the A.D.M.S. and I.D.M., enabled some Africans to diversify into commerce. Most wealthy miners and dealers first spent money building houses, as a form of investment as well as for status (Oliver, 1971). This seems to have been especially common amongst Konos, who had easier land rights anyway, and who had less, or even no, experience of commerce.

In 1972 a survey was made of thirty three entrepreneurs in Koidu (Blair, Entrepreneurs, 1975). The object of the survey was to assess the effect of the new Masingbi Road on businesses in Koidu. Thus the choice of businesses for the survey involved those most likely to be affected by the road. The ethnic breakdown of entrepreneurs was 4 Kono, 8 Mandingo, 4 Fula, 5 Mende, 2 Susu, 2 Creole, 4 other Sierra Leoneans, 3 non-Sierra Leoneans and 1 unknown. The place of origin of these people was 7 from Kono, 9 from Western Area, 3 from the rest of the Eastern Province, 5 from the Northern Province, 3 from the Southern Province and 4 from outside Sierra Leone. The survey found that the extended family system restricts the growth of business in an entrepreneur's home area and that African businessmen were unable to plough

back large profits. Temnes did not figure as entrepreneurs and seemed to live in larger extended family groups.[11]

Of the entrepreneurs 23% had been in business before reaching Kono and 50% had lived in Kono for more than 5 years before starting in business. The businesses were 13 petrol sellers, 4 firewood sellers, 3 plank cutters and sellers, 1 cabinet maker and 12 meter repairers. Businesses were mainly trade and services, they required a low capital outlay in most cases, provided small employment opportunities, and had a low capital cost per employee and a high turnover. The 33 entrepreneurs employed 94 people. One man businesses accounted for 67%, and 64% had been in operation for less than ten years. Most entrepreneurs were young, Muslim and basically literate in Arabic or English. Businessmen found it easier to obtain industrial sites in Koidu, through the Town Council, thus bypassing the traditional Kono land tenure system. The currency flow of the commercial banks in Sierra Leone shows that large volumes of notes are going out of Kono and Kenema areas and large deposits are taking place elsewhere in Sierra Leone. However, most African entrepreneurs found competition with the Lebanese difficult, and most capital is in the hands of the Lebanese.

In 1965 Harvey showed that there were 34 Lebanese and Indian shops in the Central Business District (C.B.D.) of Koidu, along Yengema, Kainkordu,[12] Yaradu and New Sembehun Roads. In 1976,

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11. The 1976 household surveys also show a very small proportion of Temne house owner occupiers in Koidu.

12. The stretch of road between the central roundabout and the Post Office Road opposite Gbense Market is sometimes referred to as Main Road. As this becomes Kainkordu Road after the market, the whole street is referred to as Kainkordu Road in this study.

see figure 47, there were 80 Lebanese shops and businesses in the same area. Apart from the increase in Lebanese businesses, more shops had been built in that time and all Lebanese residences and businesses in Koidu, with the exception of buildings belonging to Koussa and Jamil, are rented from African landlords (Dunbar, 1976). As many Lebanese are in business as diamond dealers, shops are often only a front, sometimes even run at a loss with products given as a dash to miners who bring diamonds. The Lebanese are also able to pay the highest rents and rates which developed for prime sites in the C.B.D. Thus they came to dominate the area.

In 1971 there were 150 Lebanese householders in Koidu, a population surpassed only by Freetown and Kenema (Van der Laan, 1975, page 204). But even in 1972 there were only 54 registered diamond dealers in the whole of Kono (Van der Laan, 1975, page 201). In 1975 65 Lebanese businesses were registered at the District Office in Sefadu.[13] All gave addresses in Kainkordu, Yengema and New Sembehun Roads, or the streets immediately adjacent. Twelve had been established in Koidu in the 1950's, 27 in the 1960's and 16 in the 1970's with no date given for the rest. There were no obvious increases in the opening of new Lebanese stores between 1975 and 1976, so the discrepancy between 65 businesses registered and 80 counted is probably accounted for by adjacent shops being different branches of the same family.

The major supermarkets in Koidu are branches of Indian trading companies based in Freetown. Commercially successful, they

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13. District Office, Sefadu: File on Businesses in Central Kono 1975.

are not involved directly or obviously in the diamond trade, although India is a common destination for smuggled diamonds. Indian firms use their own vehicles to transport produce up country, they employ indentured labour brought over from India, and rely upon the high prices and consumer demands of the wealthy Koidu market.

Thus the reality of commercial life in Koidu militates against the optimistic development proposals of the 1970 plan for central Kono (Gervis, 1970). With the most successful businessmen being Africans operating outside their home areas, and Lebanese, investment in Koidu is severely restricted. The economic and political climate of Sierra Leone is very anti-Lebanese. Stranger drives, and anti-stranger campaigns are also detrimental to Mandingo, Fula, Susu and Kissi businessmen, even if they were born in Sierra Leone. Commercial restrictions on non-Sierra Leonean businessmen, both African and Lebanese, tend to increase their exploitative attitudes in relation to diamond dealing. As long as the Lebanese are in the country with large capital reserves, it would be preferable to have their capital working in the form of investment in manufacturing industry, than for the nation to try to squeeze it out of them by taxation and corruption. Most of the trades pioneered and dominated by Lebanese traders, the raw produce, rice, general merchandise and transport trades, were ultimately forced out of Lebanese control and usually taken up successfully by African traders, a proportion of whom are still non-Sierra Leoneans.

Rateable values of houses in 1974 were determined by location, size, structure, use and gross value; i.e. mud houses were valued at 15 cents per square foot and 10 cents per square foot

for the veranda, and concrete houses at 30 cents per square foot and 15 cents per square foot for veranda. Businesses are charged an excess of 5 to 10% of the rateable value. Location, use and value assessments were left to the discretion of the rate valuer. Thus in 1974 1,269 houses, 28%, had a rateable value of less than Le.100 (a village hut, averaging 15 feet in diameter would not be valued at more than Le.40), 3,066 houses, or 69%, had a rateable value of between Le.100 and Le.1,000, 75 houses, or 2%, were valued at Le.1,000 to Le.2,000 and 49 houses, 1%, were valued in excess of Le.2,000. This excludes the N.D.M.C. camps.

Houses rated at more than Le.1,000 were all in Gbongbor Street, Kainkordu Road, Yaradu Road, Yengema Road, Caulker Street, Fillie Drive, Masingbi Road, New Sembehun Road, Dabundeh Street and isolated houses in three other streets. Of these only Fillie Drive is not in, or immediately adjacent to, the C.B.D. Fillie Drive contains the Hollywood Cinema, restaurant, night-club, Diamond Corporation of West Africa and the residences of several very wealthy diamond dealers. Most multi-storey buildings are rated above Le.1,000. Generally areas outside Koidu have low rateable values, with the exception of New Lebanon at Koquima/Boroma. The land use of premises for the purposes of rates assessment in 1973/74 was as follows : 26 stores, 399 shops, 24 offices, 12 petrol stations, 16 garages, 27 bakeries, 2 cinemas, 5 bars, 8 workshops, 5 clinics, 1 hotel, 1 casino and 10 restaurants.[14]

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14. Koidu/New Sembehun Town Council, Rates and Valuation Department.

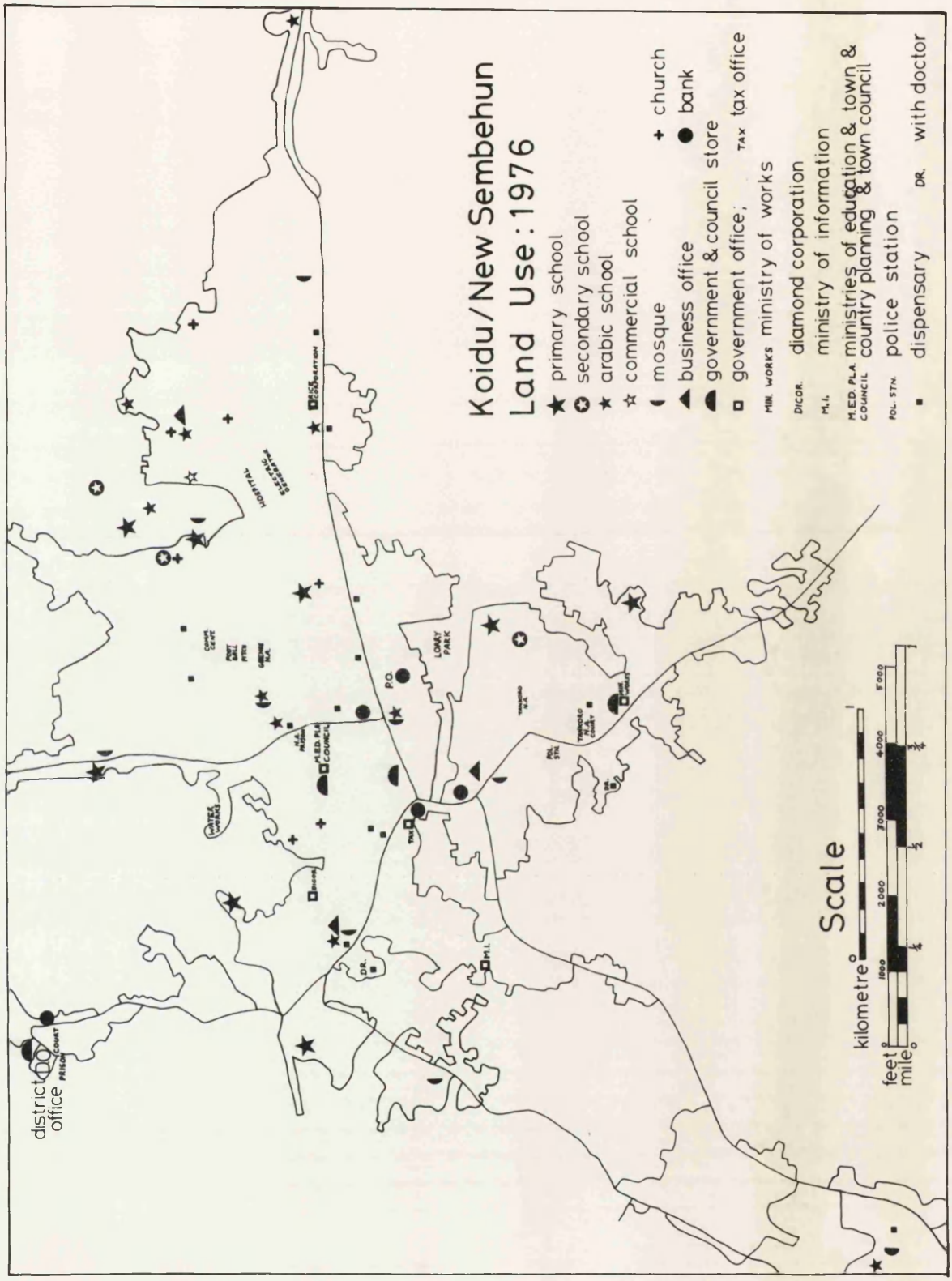

Figure 45. Koidu land use: institutions and community amenities

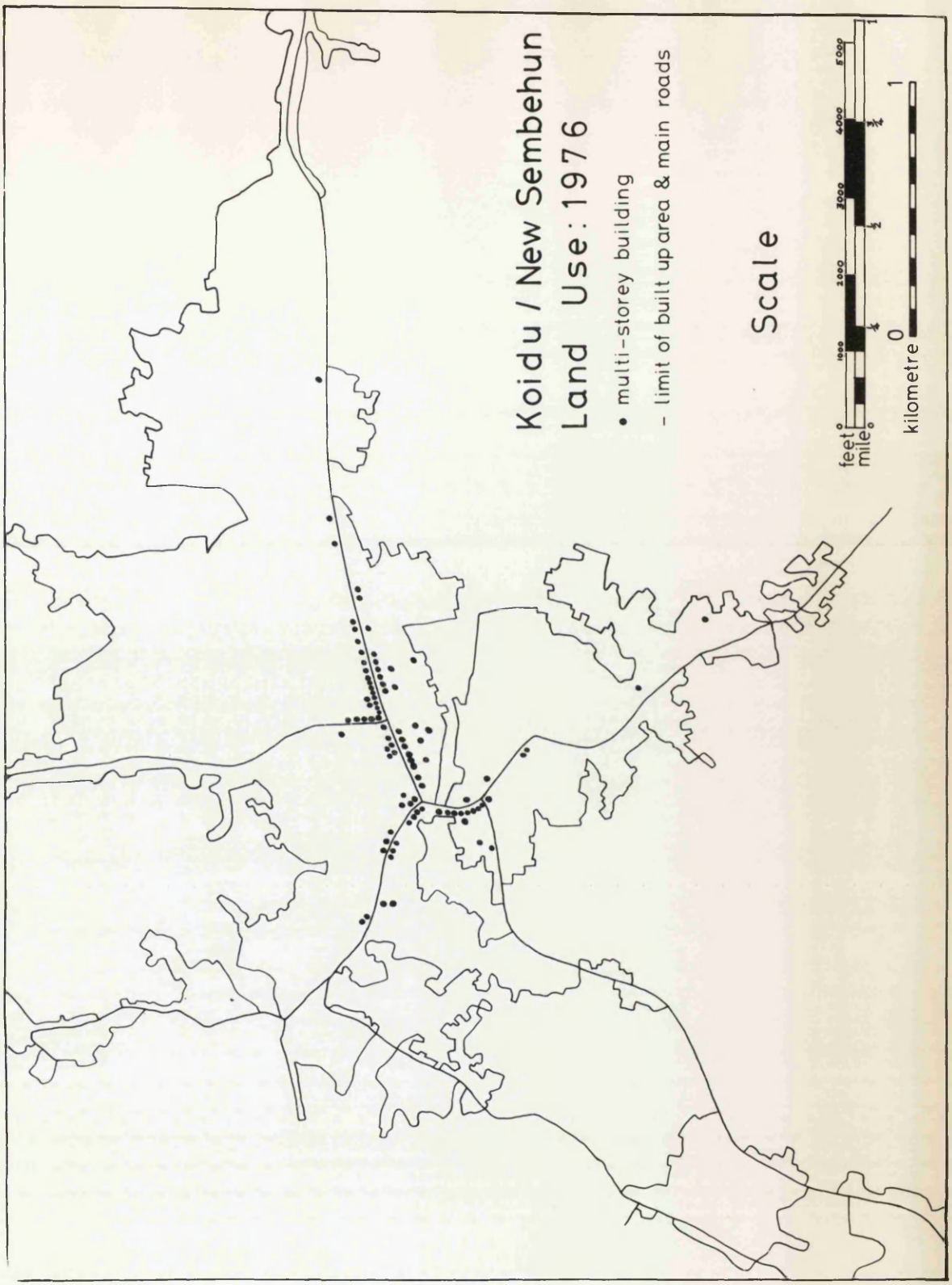

Figure 46. Koidu land use: multi-storey buildings

Table 65. Market stall and shop licences in Koidu, 1970 to 1974.

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Store: Sierra Leonean	400	500	850	1,1000	1,200
Store: Non-Sierra Leonean	150	180	200	210	250
Blacksmiths	10	12	18	19	21
Goldsmiths	12	16	22	25	30
Hotel	1	1	1	1	1
Hairdressers & Barbers	6	11	11	16	21
Tailors	200	210	250	300	400
Butchers	5	8	12	15	20
Watch Repairers	1	3	4	12	15
Radio Repairers	1	9	10	13	17
Bakeries	4	6	8	12	15

Some of the increase in the numbers of these businesses can be accounted for by the more efficient collection of licence fees. The category of store includes both market stalls and shops (Koidu/New Sembehun Town Council, 1975).

For simplicity the distribution of the places in the following Table (Table 66) is shown in nine maps, figures 45 to 53.

Figure 45 shows the main institutional and community amenities. Distribution of these places is throughout the town with no areas of particular concentration of facilities.

Figure 46 shows multi-storey buildings, the vast majority of which are in the C.B.D. and are Lebanese businesses. The shop usually forms the ground floor with the family living quarters upstairs. Balconies are usually built onto the front, but are seldom used in the town centre, owing to the dust and noise of the main streets.

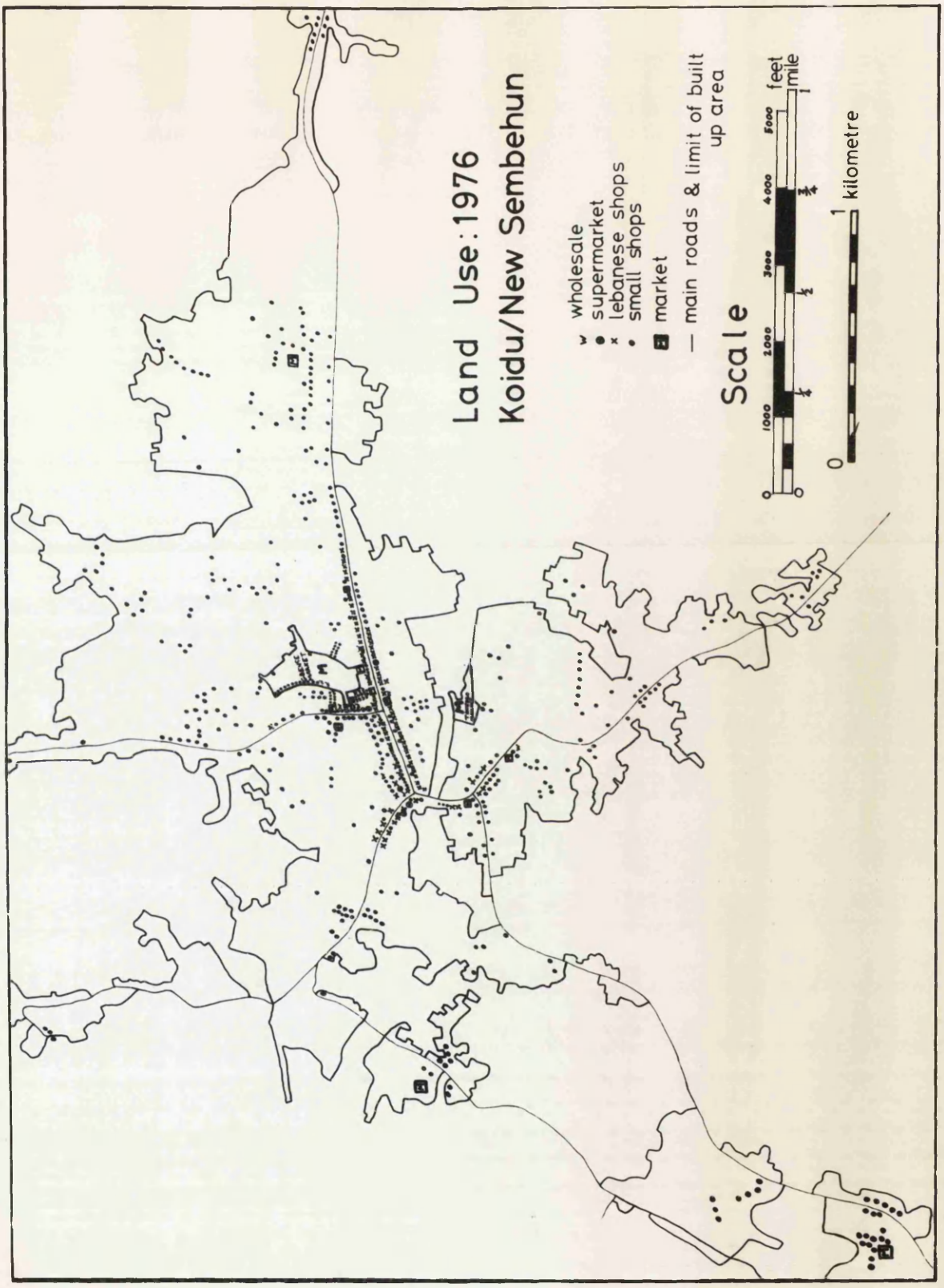

Figure 47. Koidu land use: shops and markets

Table 66. 1976 Land Use Survey of Koidu

Description					
A1.	Warehouses & Wholesale	22	C4.	Shoemaker & leather worker	36
A2.	Supermarkets	6	C5.	Tailors	650
A3.	Lebanese Stores	80	C6.	Light industries	28
A4.	Small shops	480	C7.	Barbers	26
A5.	Bars	45			
A6.	Small markets with stalls	34	D1.	Arabic schools	9
A7.	Firewood sellers	136	D2.	Primary schools	8
A8.	Petrol and Kerosene sellers	25	D3.	Secondary schools	4
A9.	Large garages	8	D4.	Commercial school	1
A10.	Small repair garages	53			
A11.	Photo studies	13	E1.	Hotels	2
A12.	Butchers	12	E2.	Cinemas	2
A13.	Bakers	14	E3.	Restaurants	109
A14.	Laundry	1	E4.	Night clubs and dance halls	12
			E5.	Tennis court	1
B1.	Banks	5			
B.2	Business offices	3	G1.	Car parks and council stores	9
B3.	Government offices	10	G2.	Churches	7
			G3.	Mosques	10
C1.	Carpenters	56	G4.	Courts and prison	4
C2.	Rice mills	8	G5.	Electricity generator	1
C3.	Metal workers, gold & blacksmiths, watch repairers	45			

Figure 47 showing the distribution of shops and markets, indicates the C.B.D., and also the distribution of subsidiary commercial centres in the suburbs of New Site (to the north of Gbense market), Hill Station, Saquee Town, Koquima and Kensay. No attempt has been made to record the multitude of stalls and small shops inside the market areas. The markets are the cheapest places, selling all local food items as well as fresh fish brought up from Freetown, and containing butchers, and sellers of clothing, cloth, cooked food, hardware and household goods. Gbense market is dominant, having only expanded onto its present site, the former Gbassan Lake, since 1975. Many small shops are run by Fula traders, selling cheap general merchandise and bread,

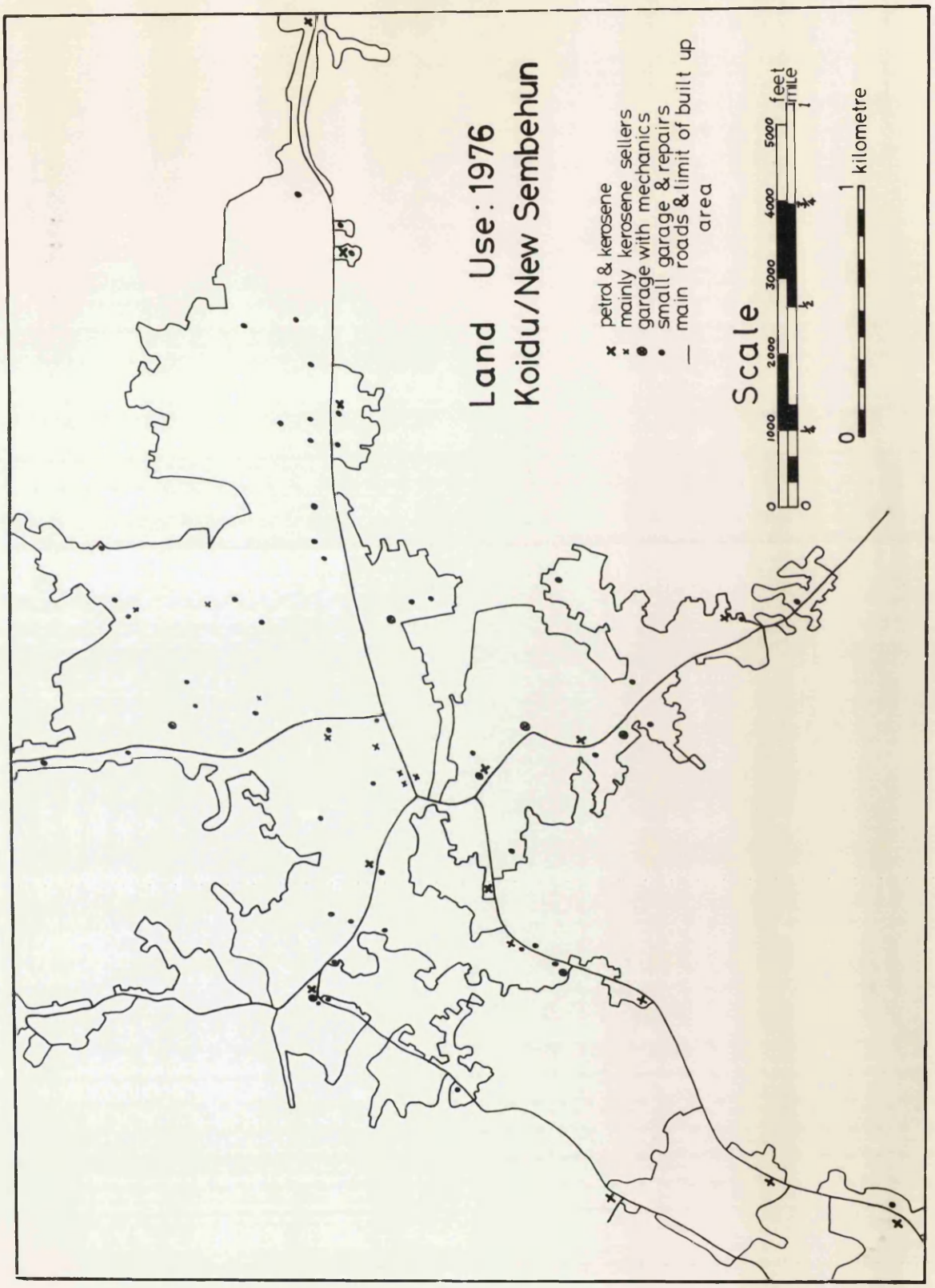

Figure 48. Koidu land use: garages

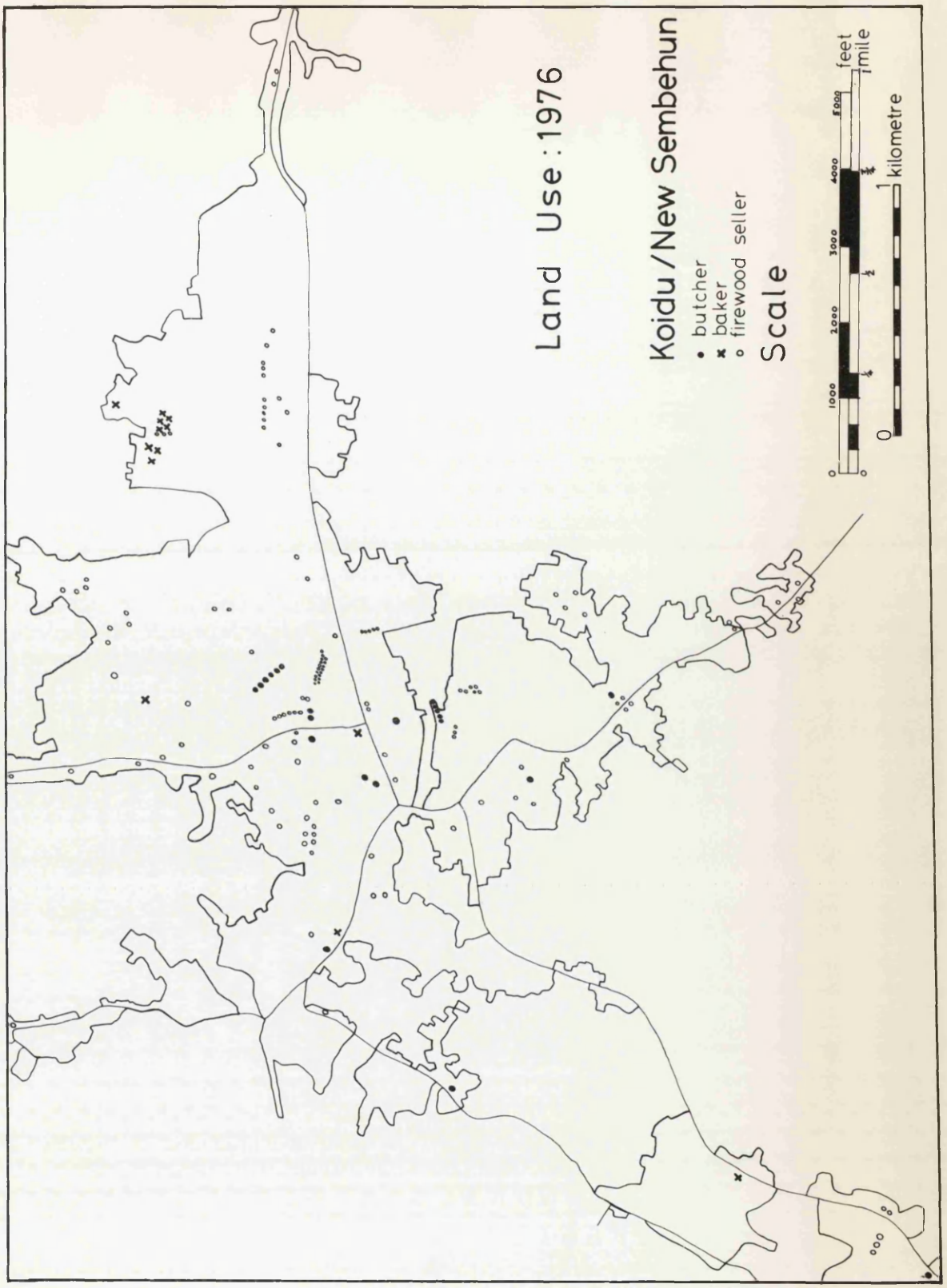

Figure 49. Koidu land use: butchers, bakers and firewood sellers

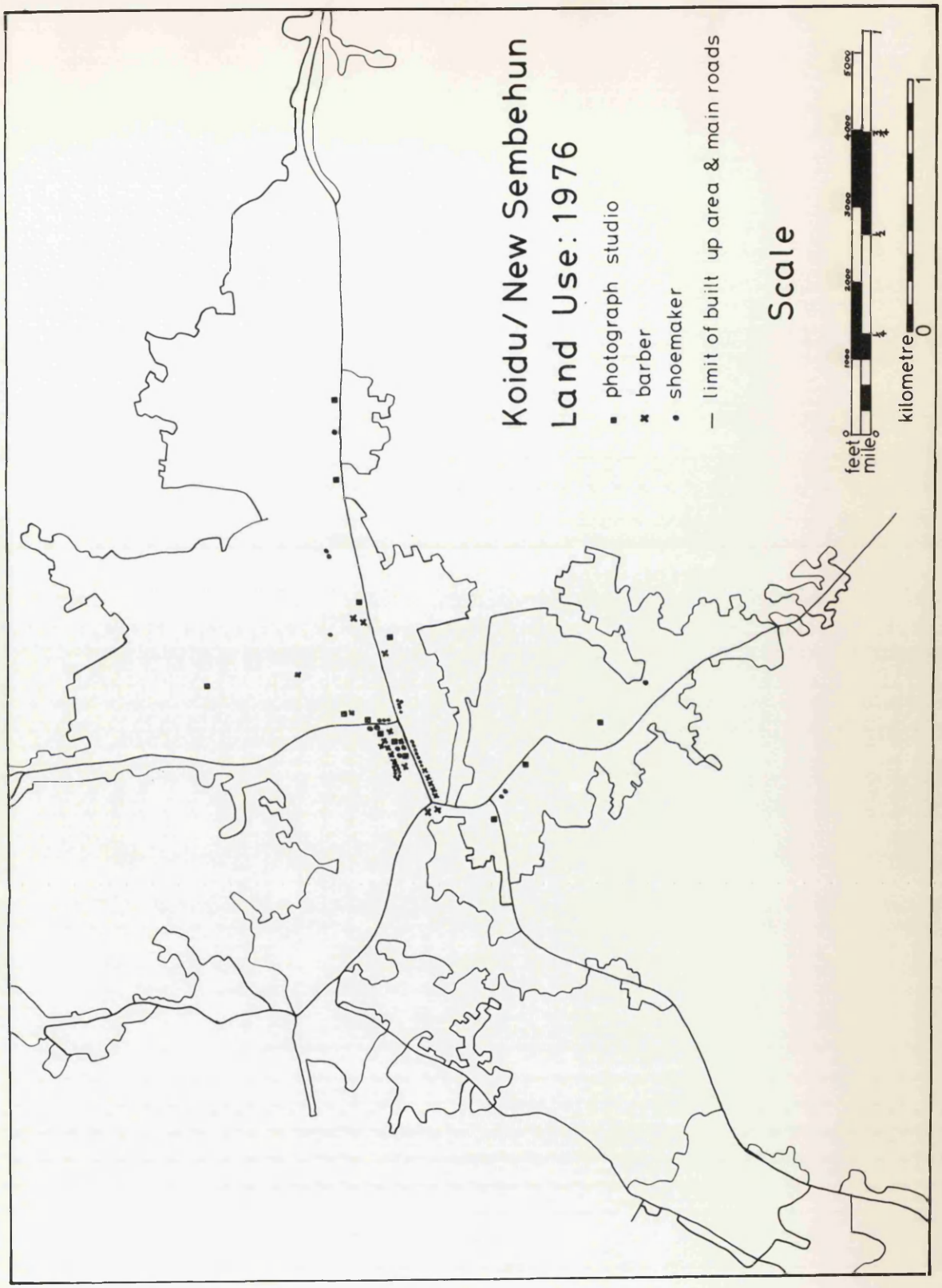

Figure 50. Koidu land use: photograph studios, shoemakers and barbers

and serving the immediate needs of local communities. They are the corner shops.

Figure 48 indicates the wide distribution of small garages and small scale kerosene sellers. Small garages are private concerns, usually only employing two or three mechanics on car, motorcycle and bicycle repairs and maintenance. Large garages are almost all on main roads into Koidu. They employ more workers.

Figure 49 shows that many firewood sellers and butchers are close to the main markets. In the area of Varma, around Council road to the west of Gbense market, wholesale suppliers bring in lorry loads of firewood, which is split, bundled and sold from house fronts. Otherwise firewood is sold in areas of high population density that do not have easy access to the bush outside the town. Bakers shown on the map represent the main bakeries in Koidu, making the bulk of the loaves. Many smaller bakeries exist, but these could not be located during the daytime. It was the only form of land use to present this problem. Bread is one of the major foods of Koidu, as in all Sierra Leone towns.

Figure 50 shows miscellaneous services. Photograph studios, depending upoh their reputation for custom, are able to survive outside the C.B.D. Shoemaking, shoe repair and leather working are intensively concentrated in Kainkordu and Yaradu roads and on one corner of Gbongbor Street. Barbers, also within the C.B.D. usually work inside a small shop, whereas shoemakers work at the roadside.

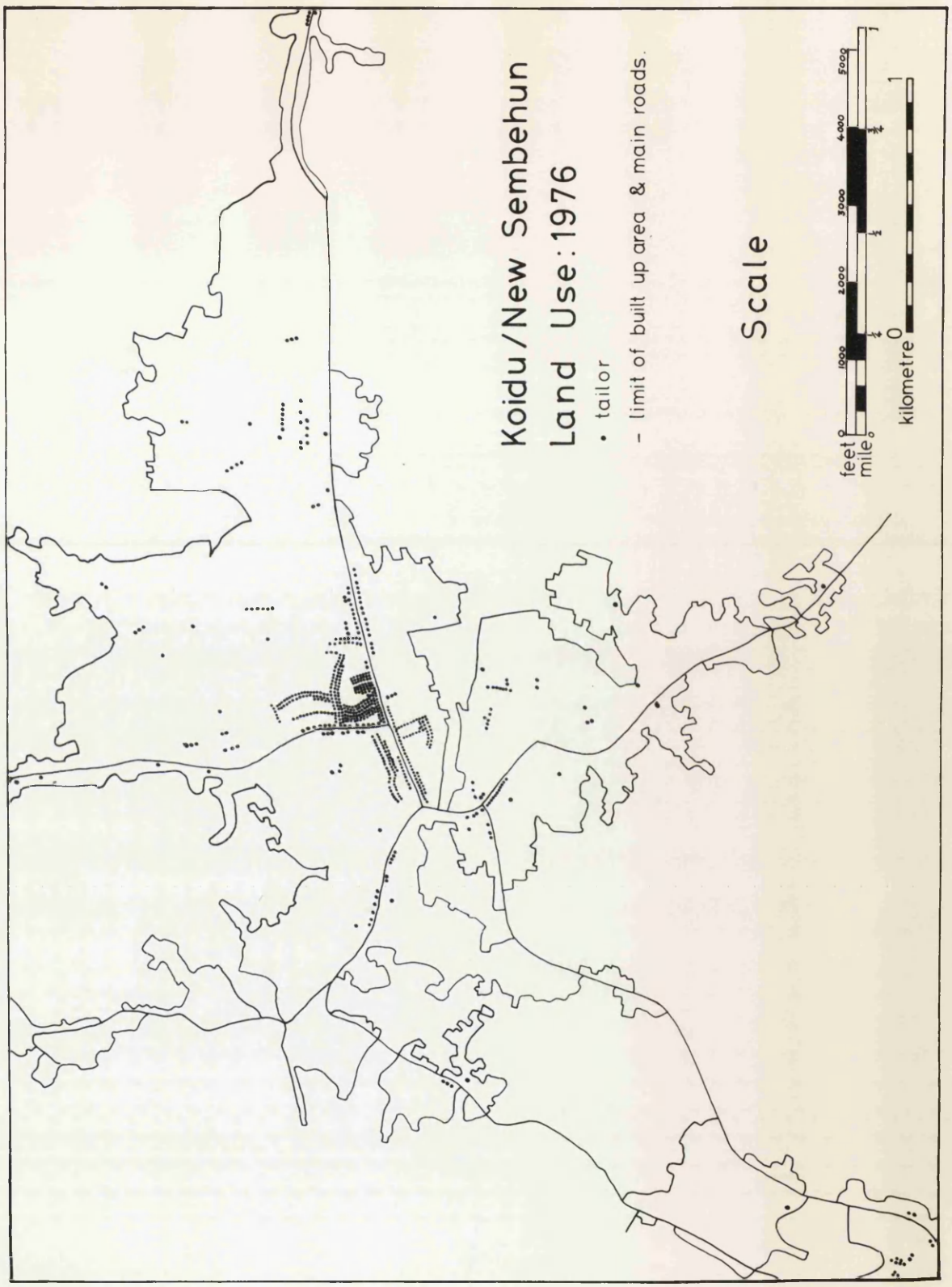

Figure 51. Koidu land use: tailors

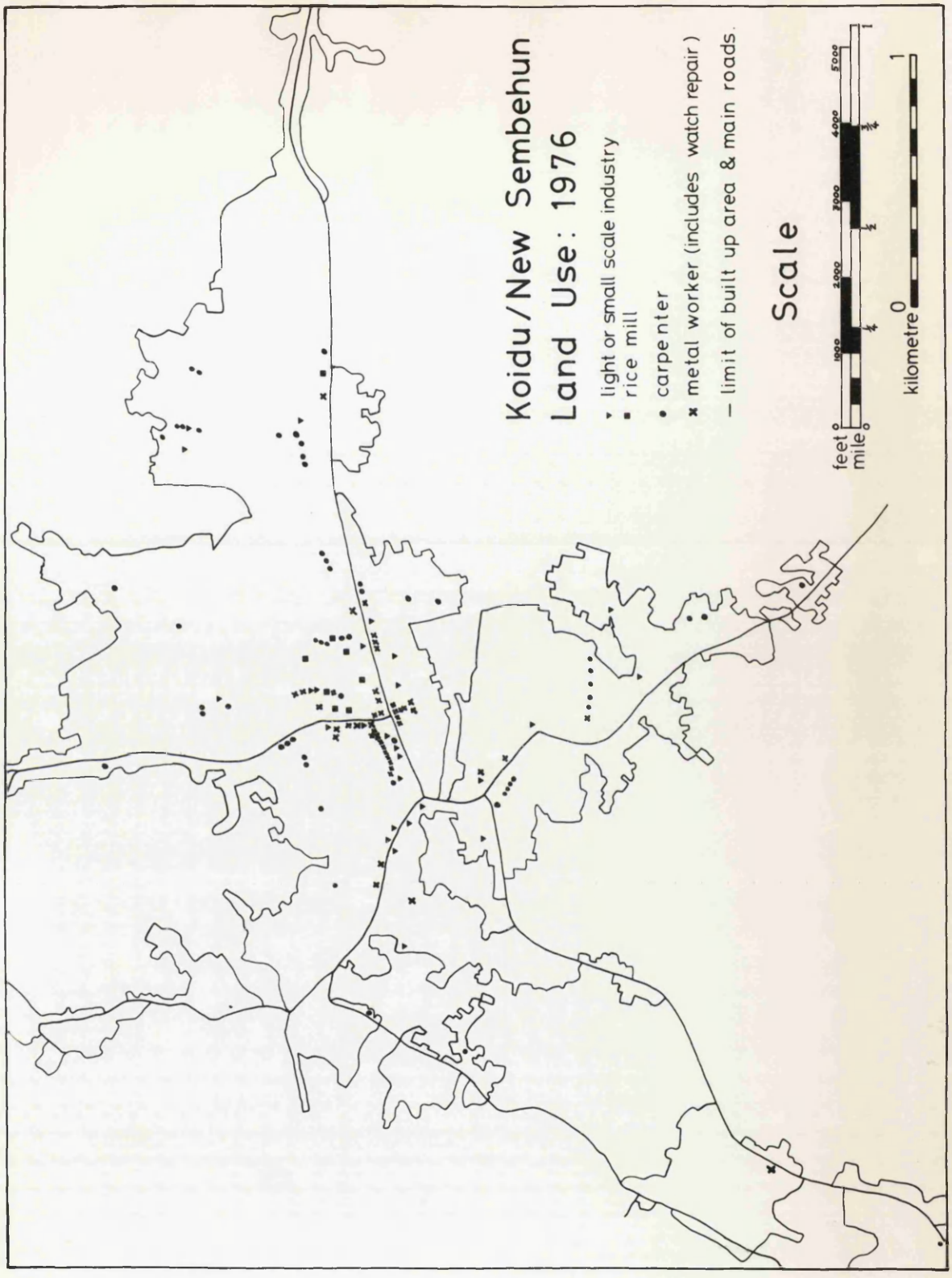

Figure 52. Koidu land use: small-scale industries

At festivals and celebrations, people travel from places throughout central Kono, to buy cloth and have their finest clothes made in Koidu. The quality of Koidu tailoring is very fine, competition is fierce, the trade is thriving and most tailors, since the market place moved, have remained concentrated in the tiny streets beside Gbense market, along Gbongbor Street, Kainkordu Road and behind the mosque in Maraka Corner. Some tailors have gone into business in the residential areas, see Figure 51, but the best are still in central Koidu. Many work at their sewing machines on verandas, or at shop fronts, while others work in small combines, four or five machines inside a tiny corrugated iron shack. Sometimes these combines have apprentices, learning the trade, saving to buy a sewing machine and doing odd jobs like ironing and delivering clothes. Many tailors, and certainly the best, are Fula and Mandingo. Tailoring is the major manufacturing industry of Koidu. Nearly all clothes are made to measure.

Figure 52 shows small scale industries, again concentrated in Gbense market, Yaradu Road, Kainkordu Road, Gbongbor Street and surrounding streets. Metal workers, including gold and silversmiths, jewellers and watch repairers work from stalls or booths. Many have learned their trades as apprentices, having come from Guinea, Mali, Gambia or Senegal. Fula and Mandingo dominate these crafts. Small scale industries include 9 radio repairers, 3 battery charging shops, 3 mattress makers, 2 wood stores, one tile maker, an electrical workshop, a pottery, an omilay maker (a potent distilled spirit), a clay pot maker,

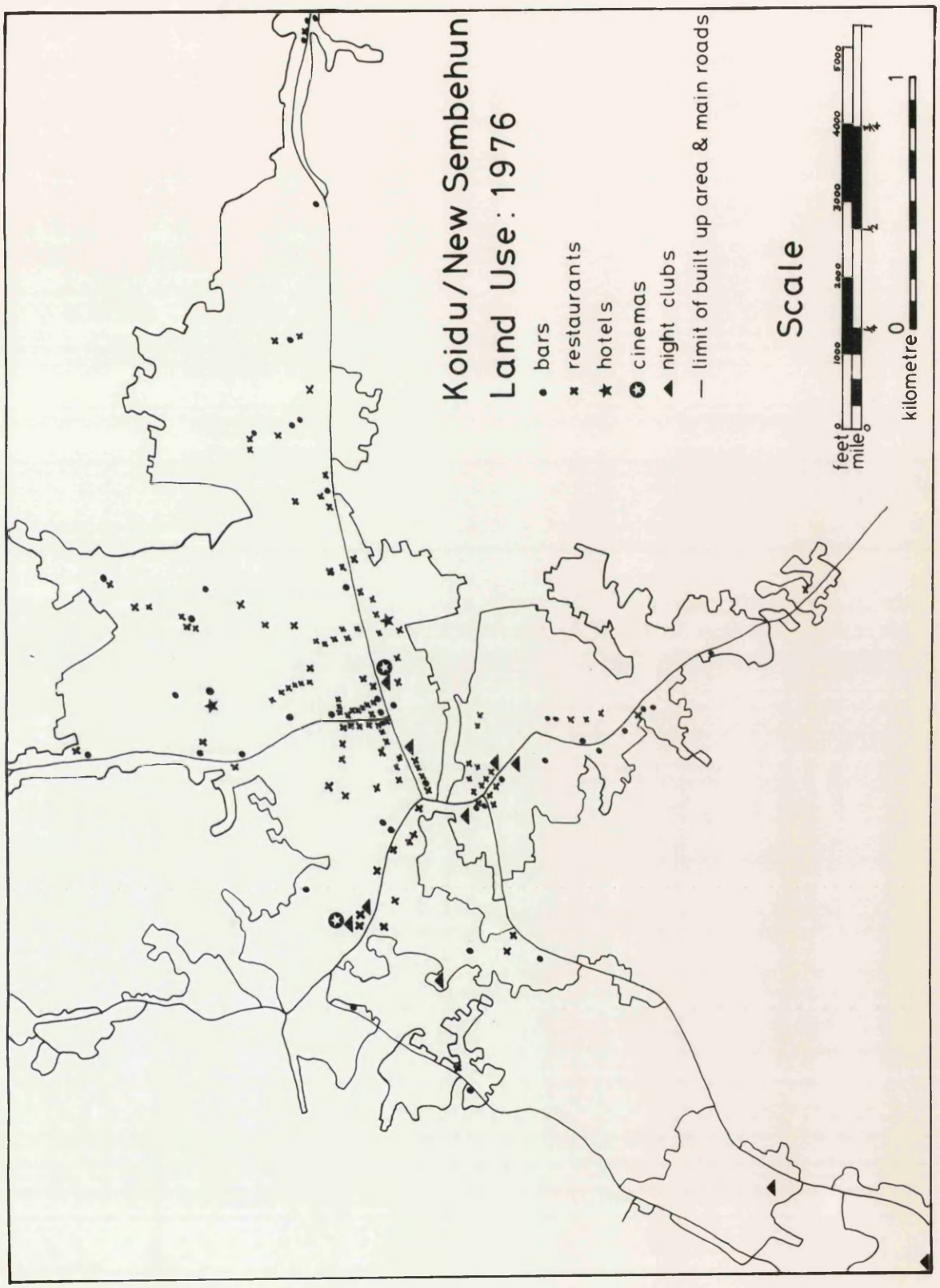

Figure 53. Koidu land use: catering and recreation

cycle repair shop and a soft drink bottling plant. Carpenters, needing more space, tend to be further away from the C.B.D., and produce a considerable quantity of furniture.

Finally, figure 53 shows catering and recreational businesses. Most restaurants are cooked food sellers who produce rice and sauce from twenty cents a meal upwards. As this food must be served on a plate or dish, some sort of structure and seating is often provided for customers; The more grandiose the restaurant, the higher is the price, although the quantity and quality of the food is usually much the same in all places. There have only ever been a couple of expensive restaurants serving European style food, as there is little demand for this. The seedy casino is a night club, and most bars only sell lager, stout, sometimes the Sierra Leone bottled spirits, and a variety of soft drinks. A lot of bars provide music for people to dance to, which is also the main function of the night clubs. Many rich dealers and miners too sophisticated for Koidu, prefer to go to Freetown for its more expensive entertainments. Both cinemas do good business, with the Opera in the town centre catering for less wealthy tastes.

The C.B.D. is defined as Gbongbor Street, Yengema Road as far west as the lake, Kainkordu Road as far east as Turner Street, Yaradu Road as far north as Town Council Road and all of the Gbense market area, and New Sembehun Road as far south as the Tankoro mosque.

Table 67. Enumeration Areas Ranked by their Distances from the C.B.D.

	Distance from C.B.D. in feet	Area Number
A.	0	14
	200	15
	250	21
	250	25
	350	13
	500	32
	500	33
	600	10
	700	35
	750	11
	800	12
	800	24
	850	34
B.	1,000	36
	1,200	23
	1,250	20
	1,400	37
	1,750	26
	2,000	8
	2,150	9
	2,300	28
	2,300	38
	2,350	8
	2,400	18
C.	3,000	5
	3,050	30
	3,050	16
	3,100	39
	3,200	22
	3,500	29
	3,700	19
	3,850	27
D.	4,300	40
	4,350	6
	5,900	4
	5,950	17
	6,300	31
	7,450	3
	8,250	2
	8,950	1

The distance from the C.B.D. is the average of furthest and nearest extent of each area from the C.B.D. The first group A, areas less than 1,000 feet from the C.B.D. are all immediately adjacent to it. Areas in B, 1,000 to 3,000 feet distant, mainly form an outer ring about the central core areas. C, between 3,000 and 4,000 feet from the C.B.D., consists of semi-peripheral areas and those over 4,000 feet from the centre of Koidu are the peripheral enumeration areas. This ranking has been used in the analysis of some population characteristics to assess changes with distance from the C.B.D. In terms of commercial land use and rateable value, distance from the C.B.D. is an important factor.

b) Household Survey

Styles of housing in Kono have reached their most extreme development in Koidu. Different ethnic groups have introduced features and styles from their own regions. There are now walled compounds, usually employing corrugated iron; an idea imported from such Sudanic countries as Gambia and Mali. Two and three storey buildings copy modern styles of Creole houses and multi-storey buildings in Freetown. In particular the circular mud hut has been replaced entirely by rectangular bungalows. The traditional house type was unsuitable for the excess wealth and status seeking of Koidu (Oliver, 1971). Many possible variations on the design of rectangular houses have been tried in Koidu, and successful innovations have spread to other smaller towns.

The health rules in Koidu define a town lot as seventy feet by ninety feet, some part of which must adjoin a street. A third of the lot may be built on (Gervis, 1971). However, extension of houses often consists of building more rooms onto existing buildings or constructing another house on the same lot. The area of the lot might also contain a kitchen shelter, latrines and bath house. In 1976, 29% of households surveyed owned and lived in more than one building. There was an average of 1.4 buildings per household. There is supposed to be a gap of ten feet between roofs of buildings and twenty feet to a latrine (Gervis, 1971), but this is often ignored.

The design of urban housing has developed from the rectangular house, consisting of a central through parlour, with bedrooms either side (there may be two or one on each side) and a

veranda at the front and/or back of the house. Extension of this type of house takes place by building rooms onto each veranda. This developed into the H plan house, a design pioneered in Koidu by S. L. Matturi (a Kono ex-politician, later manager of DICORWAF, who trained as an architect). Mud blocks seem to be declining in use in the town centre, in favour of concrete. Modern materials are more often associated with modern design.

For speed of erection mud and wattle buildings are still very popular. Laterite provides good foundations making a concrete base unnecessary. Floors are raised at least six inches (Gervis, 1971). Mud and wattle walls are often plastered over with clay and may sometimes have timber roof joists, even though the wall framework is only of irregular sticks. A number of concrete houses have flat roofs, the idea being that a second storey can be built on top later if money or need dictate .

In 1969 the government survey of houses in Koidu and Yengema showed that 65.5% had concrete walls, 29.8% had mud and wattle walls with a cement facing, 2.6% had mud and wattle walls, 1.2% had only mud walls and 1.5% were built of other materials. Of floors 87.6% had concrete bases, 12.1% had an earth floor and 0.2% wood (Household Survey of Urban Areas, 1969).

The following table (Table 68) shows that in Koidu and Yengema 36.4% houses used electricity for lighting and 55.1% used kerosene lamps in 1969.

Table 68. Type of housing structure in towns of the Eastern Province in 1969. Figures are from the 1969 household survey.

All figures in percentages	Koidu/Yengema	Total East Province
Detached houses	57.7	65.9
Row houses	12.9	14.6
Flats and Apartments	13.2	7.0
Dwelling above shop	1.1	0.3
Dwelling within shop	0.4	0.7
Huts	-	0.4
Others	14.7	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 69. Amenities, housing materials and age of construction of buildings in Koidu in 1976.

Materials and amenities	%	Year of construction	%
No water supply	7.7	post 1971	24.5
Well	70.3	1966-70	29.1
Piped water supply	22.0	1961-65	20.3
Electricity	30.5	1956-60	12.3
Stores or shops	25.3	1951-55	5.7
Concrete floor	87.8	pre 1950	7.1
Concrete walls	56.3		
Mud block walls	27.3		
Mud and wattle walls	16.4		
Ceiling	74.5		
Pan roof	99.4		
Thatched roof	0.6		

The age of housing shows that most houses were built during the 1960's and early 1970's, the most rapid period of construction being the late 1960's, and into the early 1970's. The breakdown of house construction by enumeration areas shows that of areas where the highest percentage of houses were built after 1970, only a total of nine areas, eight of these are in peripheral or semi-peripheral parts of Koidu. In twenty-seven of

the areas the largest proportion of houses were built in the 1960's. In only two areas, 1 and 36, both N.D.M.C. camps, were the majority of the buildings constructed before 1950. Both central areas, 14 and 15, were mainly constructed in the 1950's, along with area 24, around Gbense market, at that time Gbassan Lake and a core area of the E.U.B. mission dispensary.

Areas substantially lacking a water supply and thus having to use streams, are 37, 38 and 39 and 40, the new southern extensions of Saquee Town and Sakogbe in Tankoro Chiefdom. However, all of these areas are supplemented by wells. The distribution of wells shows some decline with distance from the C.B.D. All areas except Saquee Town and Sakogbe have reasonably good water supplies. Areas 10, 24, 34, 26, 8, 7, 30, 29, 17, 31 and 3 had between 30% and 75% of all households with piped water. The provision of a piped water supply seems less dependent upon centrality than on wealth. The N.D.M.C. camps, 1 and 36, Yaradu Road, area 16, which is immediately adjacent to the waterworks, and New Lebanon, area 4, all had 80% to 100% of households with piped water.

Provision of electricity declines with distance from the C.B.D., except for such areas as 8, 9, 16, 30 and 4, which being wealthy have high proportions of households with electricity. N.D.M.C. camps were not supplied with electricity by the company although isolated households seemed to have obtained a power supply. Areas without any electricity are Samandu 28, Saquee Town 38, Kensay 5, Sakogbe 40 and Kamadu 17, all being outlying villages.

Buildings containing shops show considerable fluctuations from area to area. Generally those areas containing the main commercial roads have higher proportions of shops in houses than those away from commercial centres. Those areas above the mean for shops are 14, 15, 25, 32, 24, 23, 37, 7, 5, 30, 16, 29, 40, 3 and 2. All of these areas are adjacent to the main roads into Koidu. Weyor camp, area 3, has some wooden roofed houses, and Koquima and Sinah Town contain the tiny proportion of thatched roof houses.

There is a discernible pattern in the following table (Table 70) of decline in the use of concrete as a building material with distance away from the C.B.D. A major exception is Koquima/Boroma, areas 1, 2 and 4, which is a new suburb and mining camp on the Masingbi road. Mud blocks are used more outside the central area, although mud and wattle is used widely in the core areas and villages, such as 14 and 15. Samandu area 28, Kensay area 5 and Sakogbe area 40. Usually the choice of building material is dictated by the money available, and as there is no clear division between rich and poor areas of Koidu, there is no very clear division of building materials by area.

A comparison of themodern attributes of electricity, piped water, concrete walls, concrete floors and ceilings in Koidu, with theproportion of the same items in the six small boom towns,shows a much greater use in Koidu. Thus in Koidu a greater proportion of houses are more permanently and more expensively built.

Table 70. Construction materials used in Koidu, ranked by Distance of Enumeration Area from C.B.D.

(All statistics in percentages)

Area	Concrete Floor	Concrete Walls	Mud Block Walls	Mud & Wattle Walls	Area	Concrete Floor	Concrete Walls	Mud Block Walls	Mud & Wattle Walls
14	100	54	-	46	28	94	28	22	50
15	100	52	5	43	38	88	27	51	21
21	100	84	16	-	7	100	60	-	40
25	100	91	9	-	18	61	39	35	26
13	87	37	37	25	5	56	11	22	67
32	100	77	23	-	30	44	44	50	6
33	75	71	21	8	16	100	71	21	7
10	96	74	18	7	39	56	37	44	18
35	100	96	-	4	22	50	36	64	-
11	100	100	-	-	29	100	55	32	13
12	87	25	50	25	19	87	48	52	-
24	100	56	26	18	27	81	22	67	11
34	96	92	4	4	40	77	13	26	61
36	100	85	15	-	6	100	90	-	10
23	100	82	18	-	4	100	100	-	-
20	100	72	28	-	17	50	-	86	14
37	97	57	37	7	31	74	30	70	-
26	100	58	-	42	3	83	33	25	42
8	100	100	-	-	2	100	60	13	27
9	84	74	26	-	1	100	100	-	-

Households in Koidu vary enormously from small nuclear family groups to extremely large extended families. All that can be described here is the average household, a phenomenon that is rare in reality. Family size varies from one ethnic

group to another. The Lebanese and educated Sierra Leoneans tend to live in smaller nuclear families. Temne extended families are large, while many Mende in Koidu work for N.D.M.C., and possibly because of the small rent free company houses, they live in smaller family groups. Although many Kono in Koidu are immigrants, higher proportions of Kono women, in comparison with women of other ethnic groups, have moved to the town and Kono families are well established. In the case of the Fula, it is usually only the men who travel to the diamond fields and they are less likely to send for wives, unless they decide to settle permanently.

However, households in Koidu are ethnically diverse, with people of several ethnic groups living under one roof. Comparison with the six smaller boom towns shows that Koidu is not especially different, having greater diversity than Sukudu and Njalla, about the same as Peyima and Bumpeh and with less ethnic diversity per household than Ndoyogbor and Bongema. The average number of ethnic groups per household in Koidu is 2.16.

Table 71. Ethnic Diversity of Households in Koidu in 1976.

	Number	%
Number of households	600	100
Households of 1 ethnic group	239	40
Households with 2 ethnic groups	166	28
Households with 3 ethnic groups	101	17
Households with 4 ethnic groups	57	9½
Households with 5 ethnic groups	31	5
Households with 6 ethnic groups	3	½
Households with 7 ethnic groups	3	½

Of all households 55% contained two, three or four different ethnic groups. The average of 2.16 ethnic groups per household

divides the enumeration areas quite equally, with 21 areas having more than 2.16 groups per household and 19 areas having less. Area 4, New Lebanon,has the lowest level of diversity, 1.1, while area 24, has the highest level, 2.85. Area 24 extends eastwards alongside Kainkordu Road, from the edge of Gbense Market towards Hill Station.

An interesting pattern emerges when ethnic diversity is ranked by distance from the C.B.D. Both peripheral areas and areas adjacent to the C.B.D. show least diversity with a mean for all these areas of 1.7. Ethnically, overall, these areas are very diverse with many different tribes present as neighbours, but usually not within one another's houses. Most areas above the mean of 2.16 fall within the outer central and peripheral areas. This ring of areas has a mean of 2.5 groups per household. Peripheral areas are all below the average of 2.16, while of areas close to the centre only areas 15, 10 and 21 out of the ten closest to the C.B.D. have an ethnic diversity above the mean for the town.

It is shown later that many areas have a distinct dominance of one ethnic group. It is apparent that those areas closest to and furthest from the centre are most likely to be dominated by one group, while the areas in between are more likely to be transitional areas into which many migrants have recently come. These are the areas with easy access both to the town centre and the illicit mining areas. Out of fourteen areas with above average proportions of diamond miners, nine had more than 2.16 ethnic groups per household.

In the whole of Koidu in 1976, 27% of the sampled population were women over 15 years of age, 33.8% were men over 15 years, and 39.2% were children under 15 years. Although men still outnumbered women, the excess was not as great as in 1963, while the proportion of children had increased considerably. Only 9 of the 600 households sampled, or 1.5%, contained no women or children, while 6% of the households were without children. There were 12.33 people per house and 2.5 to each room, on average. As there was a mean of 1.4 buildings per household, the mean size of a household in Koidu was 17 persons. Of these households 29.3% lived in more than one house, but only 2.2% of the houses contained more than ten rooms. At an average of 4.9 rooms per house, the average household must have occupied 6.9 rooms.

Table 72. Relationships to the head of the household in Koidu in 1976.

Men in household related to head of household	32.3%
Women in household related to head of household	32.1%
Households containing men working for head of household	29.3%
Men in household working for head of household	18.1%
Average number of men in each household working for head of household	2.9

All of these proportions are considerably lower than in each of the six small boom towns. The highest proportions of relationship to, and employment by, the heads of the households, were found in the rural villages. In a town the size of Koidu relationships to and employment by the householder fall to the lowest level of all places studied, although ethnic diversity is not

significantly different from the small boom towns. Thus it seems likely that many migrants to Koidu may seek out householders of their own tribe with whom to live, while not actually working for or being related to that person. This suggests the looser relationships of the larger town.

Finally, it is interesting to compare the ethnic origins of household heads with tenancy and ownership of houses, and to consider these relationships by enumeration area. To reduce the number of tables and statistics necessary to present the full results of this survey, only the important highlights are described here. Of all householders 4.5% were women, a proportion almost double that of the smaller towns. In Koidu 70.7% of all houses were owned by the householders who occupied them, while 29.3% were rented or rent free tenancy. Areas 1, 3, 6 and 36 contain large numbers of rent free buildings. Areas in which more houses were rented, or held rent free by the householder were 36, 26, 8, 6, 4 and 1. Areas 26, 8 and 4 are all wealthy and contain substantial proportions of non-Sierra Leoneans, especially New Lebanon, area 4. Areas with equal numbers of houses rented as owned were 13, 7 and 3. In all other areas most houses were owned by the occupying householder. Areas in which all houses were owner occupied were 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 30, 31, 32 and 33. There was some relationship between the dominant ethnic group of the householders in each enumeration area and the overall dominant ethnic group of each enumeration area, even though the proportions of householders by ethnic group are different from the proportions of actual ethnic groups.

Table 73. Ethnic groups of householders related to tenancy/ ownership in Koidu in 1976.

Ethnic Group	% of each group owner/ occupier	% of each group tenant	% of all households
Kono	88	12	41
Mandingo	71	29	12
Fula	55	45	10
Mende	55	45	7
Temne	40	60	7
Kissi	87½	12½	7
Susu	47	53	3
Limba	76	24	3
Other West Africans	44	56	3
Koranko	67	33	2½
Lebanese	8	92	2
Other Sierra Leoneans	33	67	1½
Yalunka	57	43	1
All groups	70.7	29.3	100.0

The major groups of householders are shown by the descending order of the Table. Temne form 14% of the adult male population, but only 7% of the householders. Kono and Mandingo have higher proportions of householders than the proportions of their tribes, of the whole population. Fula make up 10% of the householders but 19% of the adult male population. Proportions are equal for the Kissi.

The only ethnic groups amongst whom more householders rent accommodation than own it are Susu, Temne, other Sierra Leoneans, other West Africans and Lebanese. The Lebanese, with the highest proportion of rented accommodation, show the least investment in housing in the area, although they are restricted by residential permit regulations. The Kono and Kissi have the highest proportion

of owner occupiers. The fact that so many householders, especially non-Kono , own their houses, indicates the degree of permanence of settlement of these people in Koidu. Clearly the Temne, Lebanese and minority groups like the Creole, Loko and Marakas, do not feel themselves to be part of Koidu and Kono. However, the Temne are a relatively recent group to settle in Kono in large numbers.

Thus it can be concluded that households in Koidu are large and ethnically diverse family groups, but with looser ties and relationships than in smaller settlements. Most householders are non-Kono, but most are owner occupiers despite being strangers to the area. Households in areas with many diamond miners are ethnically diverse.

As a predominantly Muslim illicit diamond boom town Koidu is a masculine place. In isolating the adult males it is easier to assess how mobile or settled these people are. Practically every adult in Koidu, man or woman, Kono or non-Kono, is an immigrant. The origins and occupations of the men are generally more diverse than those of the women. As large numbers of women are housewives, including many who had been sent for by husbands or prospective husbands who had been reasonably successful in the diamond fields and who had decided to settle there, if the married men leave Koidu, the women will go with them. Questions asked of the men related to ethnic origin, place of birth, length of time spent in Koidu, previous place of residence before coming to Koidu, and occupation.

In the analysis of this information two factors emerged which suggested a pattern of relationships: the ethnic origins of the

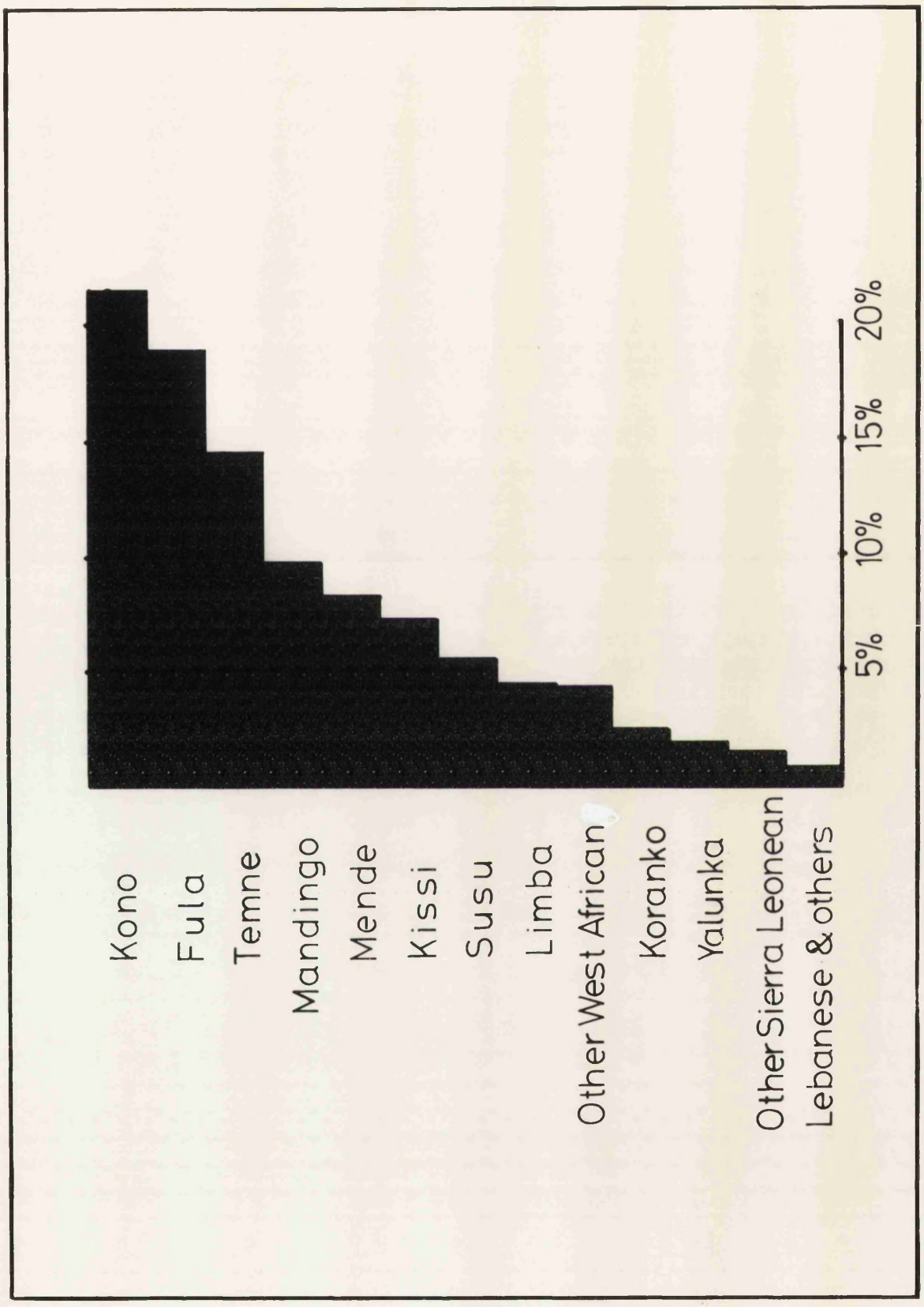

Figure 54. Ethnic origins of adult males in Koidu in 1976

population, and the spatial distribution by enumeration area, both of the ethnic origin and of the other population characteristics. Neither of these factors was dominant or in any way deterministic, but as both were clearly related, it followed that other population characteristics might correspond to a similar pattern. The discovery of a spatial and ethnic pattern in Koidu was not expected, although observation and knowledge of the town suggested that distinct areas of Koidu were quite different in character. It has already been shown in earlier sections concerning land use, population densities, house types and households that different areas of Koidu are quite distinct.

The 1969 household survey of Koidu and Yengema found that only 19% of their population was Kono. Gervis (1970) estimated that this proportion was falling and that by the mid 1970's Kono would be outnumbered by one of the other ethnic groups, such as the Temne. This might have occurred when the town was at its most crowded in 1973/74. By 1975/76 though, the proportion of Kono, of adult males, was 21.5%, with the Fula making up 18.8% and the Temne only 14.4% of the population. As women generally tended to have migrated shorter distances to Koidu, it can be expected that there is a high proportion of Kono among the women. Figure 54 shows the ethnic origins of adult males in Koidu. Despite almost hysterical outbursts from politicians and the Freetown press, concerning the excessive numbers of Lebanese in Koidu, they form a very small proportion, 0.5% of the adult males. Having small families their share of the total population is even smaller. On the other hand, it is only the more ruthless businessmen who have been able to survive in Koidu, and the Lebanese, for all their small numbers, control large amounts of money.

Other West Africans, the Maraka etc., form a much higher proportion, 4.2%, while many of the Mandingo, Fula, Susu and Kissi are from Guinea. This is indicated by the 13.8% of men who stated that they had been born in Guinea. Well over half the population is Muslim, a culture and religion that unites Fula, Temne, Mandingo, Susu and Marakas etc., as well as large numbers of Mende. Thus, although the Kono are the largest ethnic group in the town, being mainly non-Muslim they are culturally swamped. In recent years there has been a move on the part of many Koidu Kono towards an acceptance of Islam.

Koidu is a young town and it has no precise ethnic quarters. A spatial pattern can be discerned, though, suggesting that different ethnic groups are concentrated in specific areas. The earlier section which dealt with ethnic diversity by household showed that the norm was for a household to contain more than one ethnic group. But each household may still be dominated by one group and within each area it emerged that certain ethnic groups formed higher proportions than other groups. Also it became clear that small minority ethnic groups occurred in greater proportions in some areas than in others.

A significant figure of ethnic dominance was 35%. Only one area contained two ethnic groups, both of which had more than 35% of the population of that area. That was in area 36, the N.D.M.C. New Sembehun camp, where the two dominant groups were Mende and Kono. Twenty three of the enumeration areas contained a dominant ethnic group which made up more than 35% of the adult male population of those areas. Only four of the areas had an ethnic group

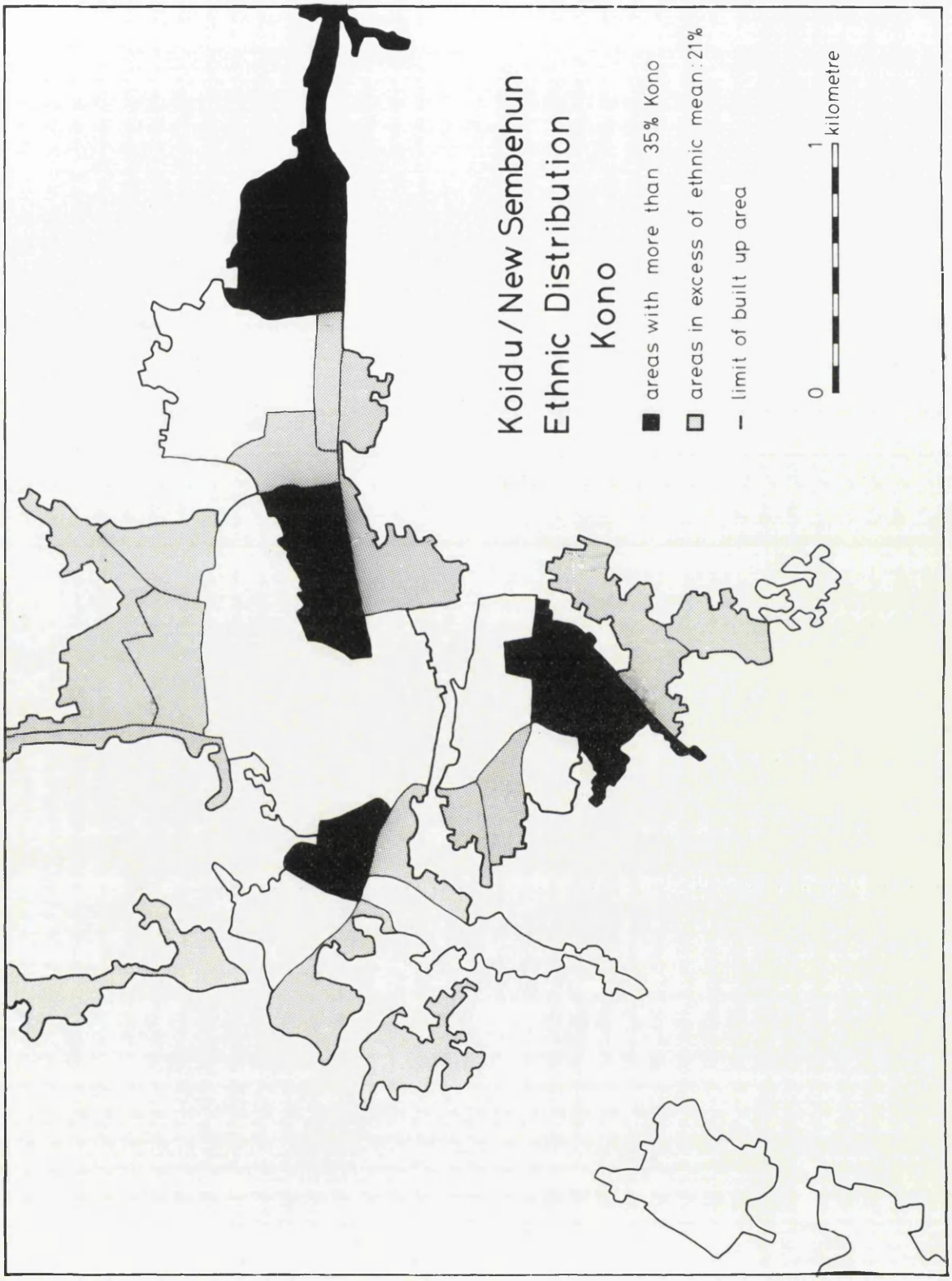

Figure 55. Ethnic distribution: Kono

in excess of 50%. A figure of 30% would have showed several areas having more than two dominant groups, whereas areas with more than 35% of the population of one ethnic group usually did not contain another group in excess of 30%. On the maps these areas are shown in black for each ethnic group.

Apart from a dominance in certain areas, there was also a concentration of above average proportions of different ethnic groups in specific enumeration areas. For example, the Mende form 8.2% of the adult male population of Koidu. This is referred to as the ethnic mean. If in any area the Mende formed more than 8.2% of the population of that area, they were in excess of the ethnic mean, which indicated a concentration of Mende in that area, even though they might form a relatively small minority. All the major ethnic groups of Koidu showed concentrations in certain areas of the town. The ethnic distribution of these groups is shown in figures 55 to 62. Where the population is very small, as in the case of the Gambians and the Lebanese, the sample is less reliable and the map can only be regarded as a guide to ethnic distribution.

Figure 55 shows the distribution of the Kono, indicating that they are not concentrated in the centre of the town, but are a peripheral people relegated to the outer limits. This is a situation repeated in many Kono towns, and indeed throughout Kono, both literally and metaphorically, where the strangers occupy the central positions, running most commercial and industrial enterprises, and making most money. Area 17, Kamadu village, excluded from the north of the map, has more than 35% of its population Kono. Areas shown in figure 55 have high proportions of Kono

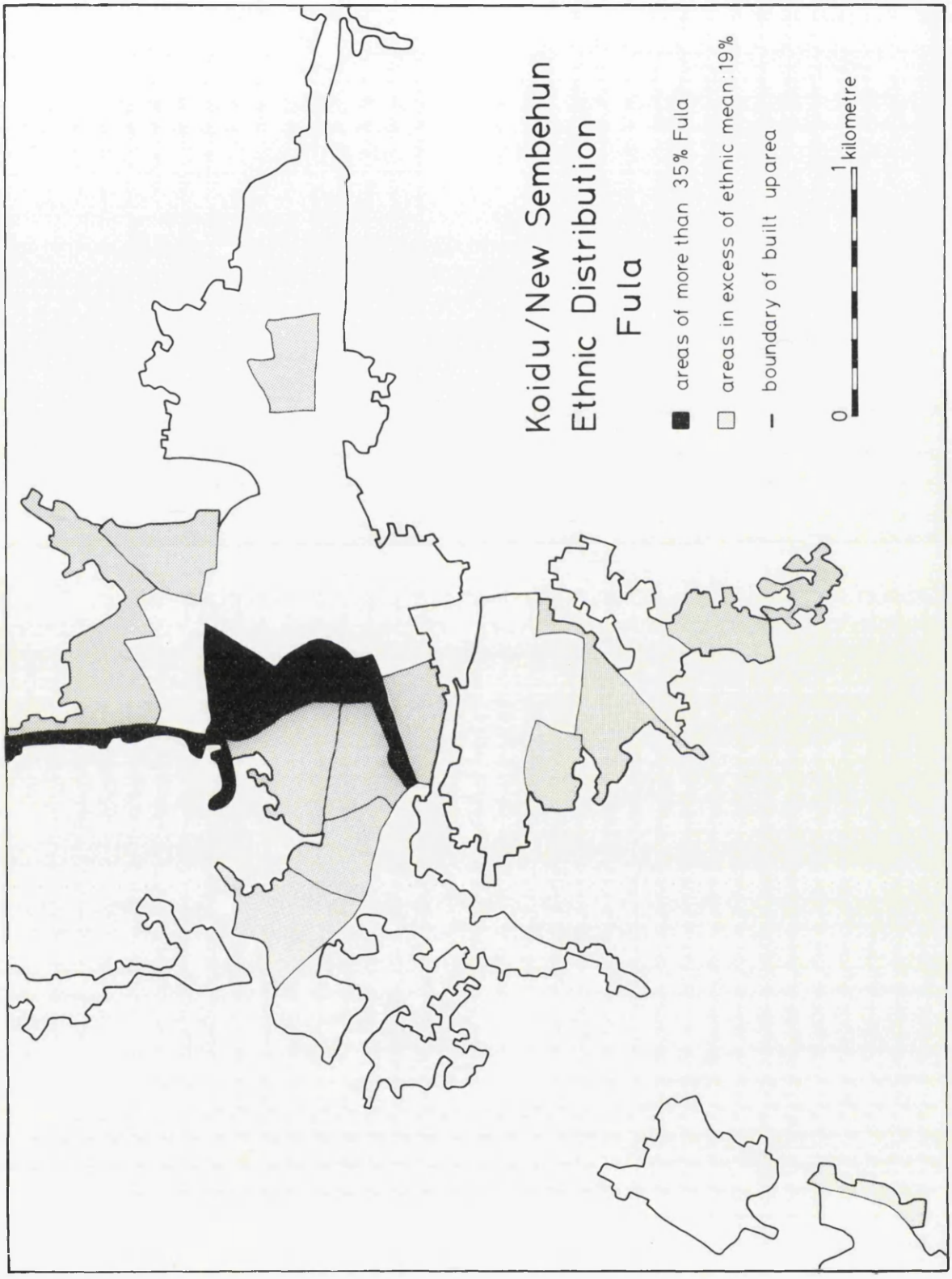

Figure 56. Ethnic distribution: Fula

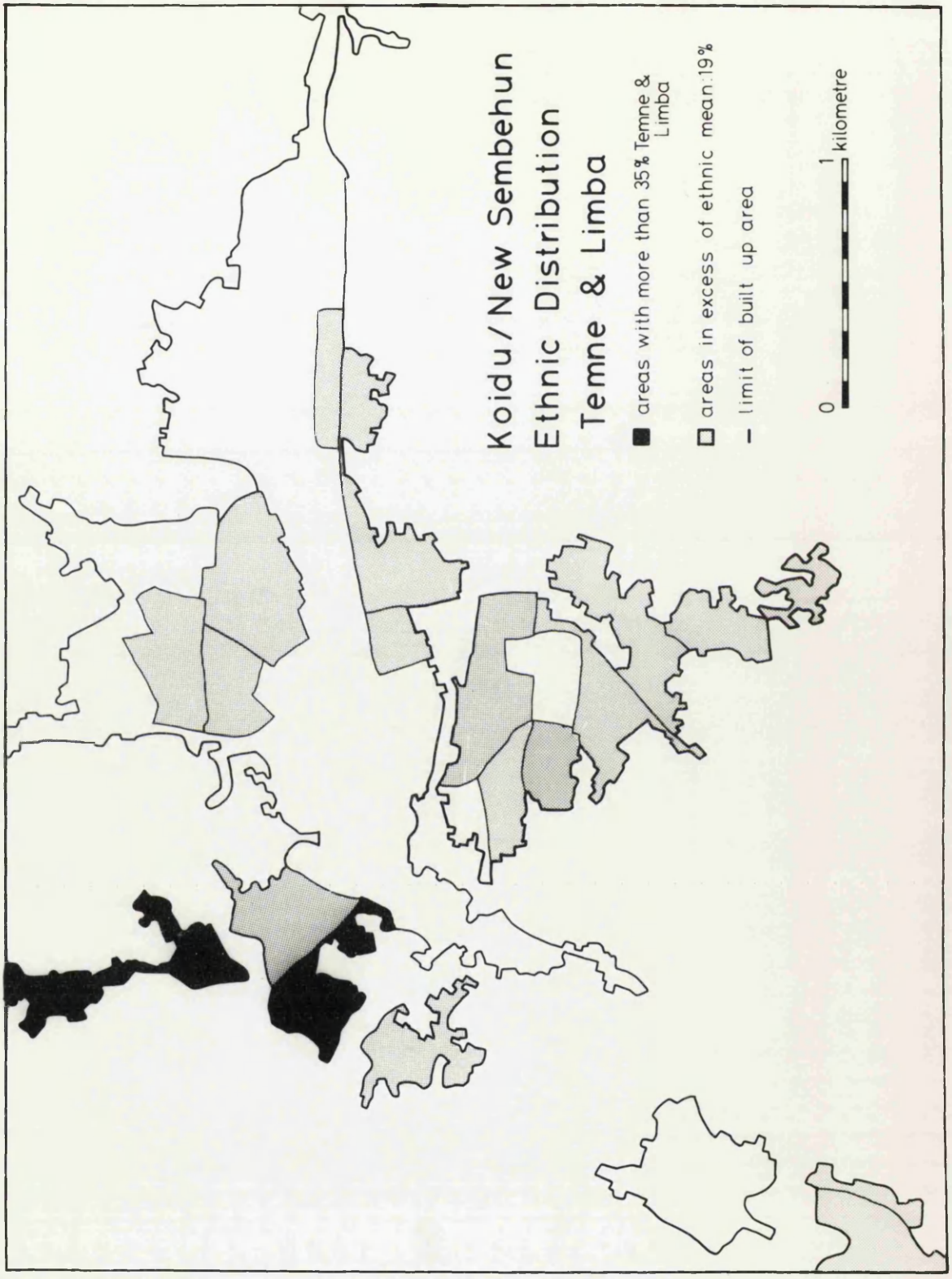

Figure 57. Ethnic distribution: Temne and Limba

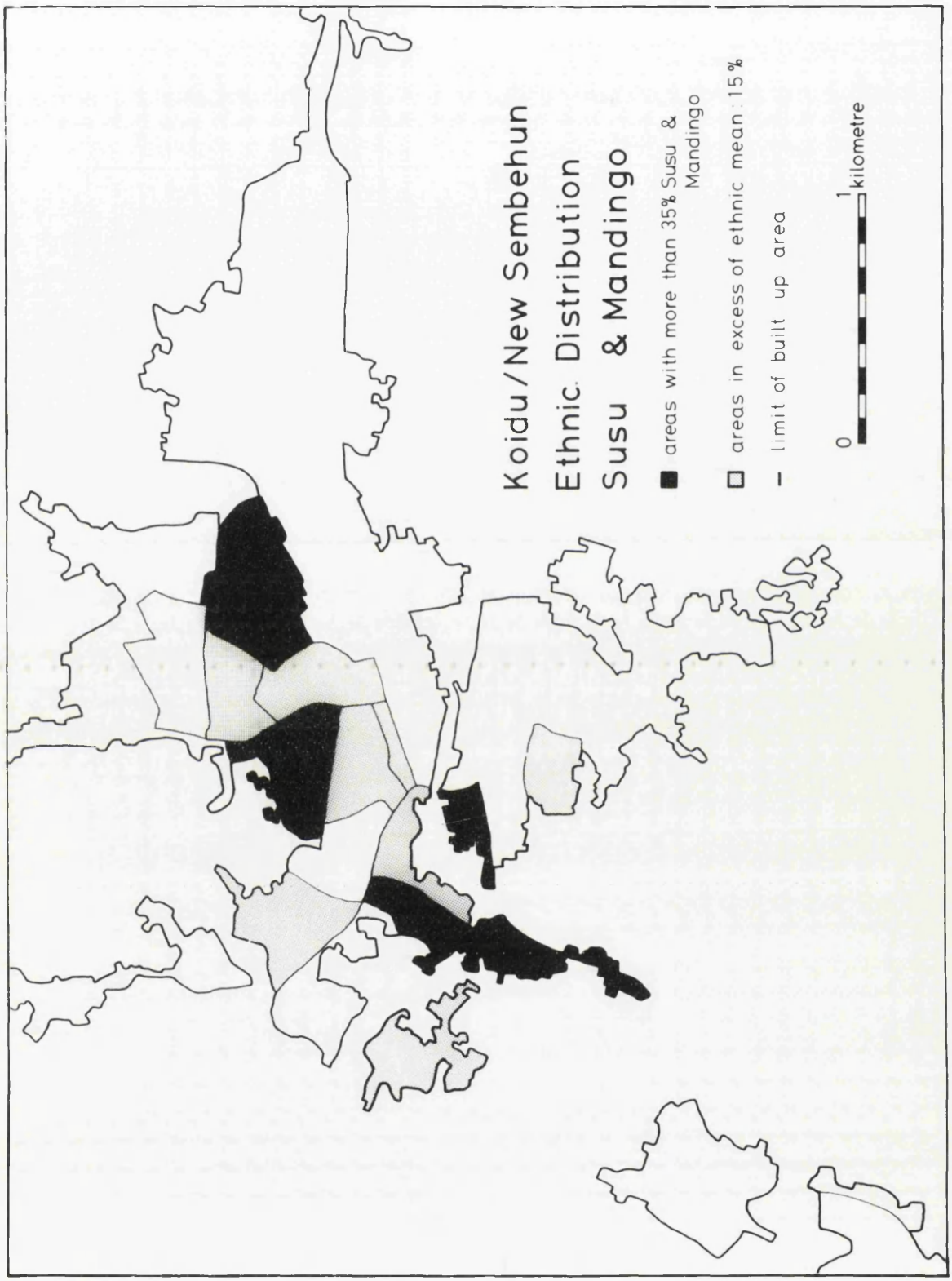

Figure 58. Ethnic distribution: Susu and Mandingo

householders. Semi-peripheral and outer central areas have high ethnic diversities per household, a phenomenon noted in the previous section about households. Many Kono householders thus have several non-Konos living in their houses, and these households are mostly outside the town centre.

Figure 56 shows the distribution of the Fula. Area 1, excluded from the south west corner of the map, contains more than 35% Fula. There is a concentration of these people towards Yaradu Road and the surrounding areas. The Fula are more central than the Kono. Peripheral areas with high concentrations represent the newer immigrants, mostly from Koinadugu, while many of the Fula in central Koidu, especially the families of Maraka Corner, Gbongbor Street and Yaradu Road have been in Koidu since the earliest days of the diamond rush, and often came from Guinea, Gambia, Mali and Senegal.

Figure 57 shows Temne and Limba grouped together because of the common occurrence of households containing both Temne and Limba. Many people of each group came from Bombali and Tonkolili Districts. The District Office at Sefadu contains many of both these ethnic groups, a fact associated with the political power of the northern politicians. Otherwise they are mainly peripheral owing to the recent immigration of most Temne to Koidu, after 1969, settling in the expanding semi-peripheral and outer central areas, especially in New Sembehun and the southern part of Sinah Town. As the Temne form a large proportion of the population, some of these areas have a strong Temne character.

Figure 58 shows the distribution of Susu and Mandingo, also grouped together because of the common occurrence of mixed Susu/

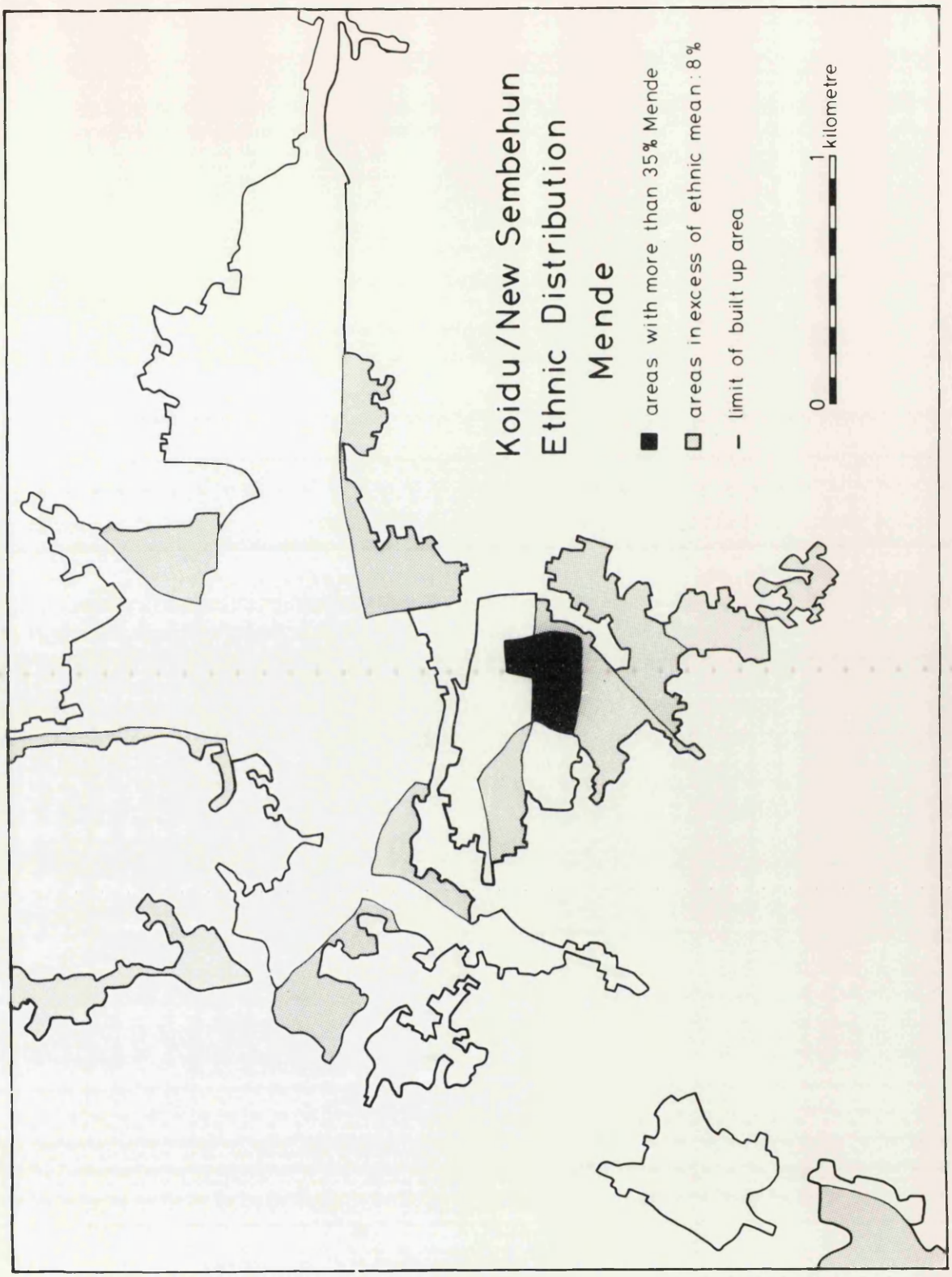

Figure 59. Ethnic distribution: Mende

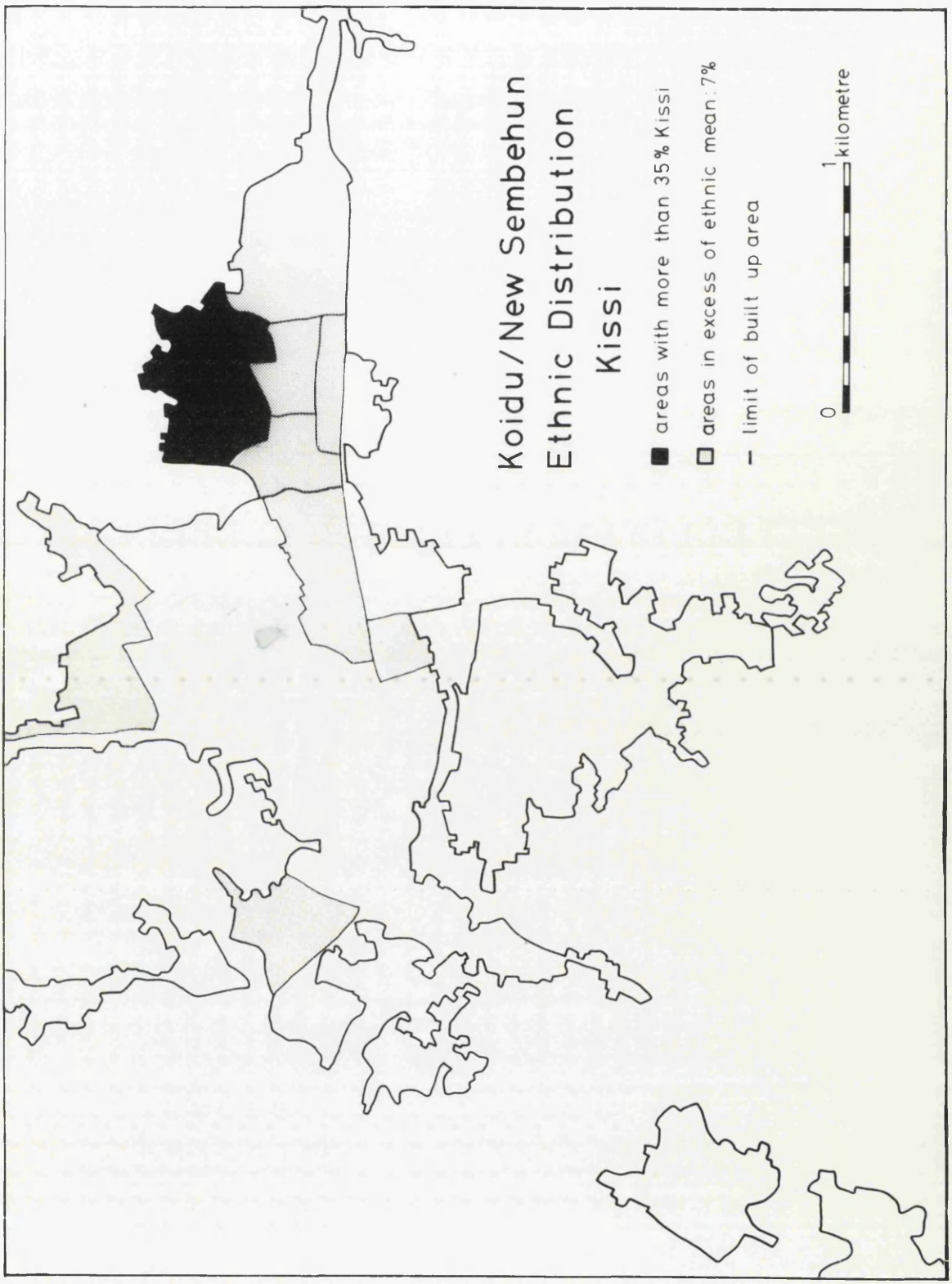

Figure 60. Ethnic distribution: Kissi

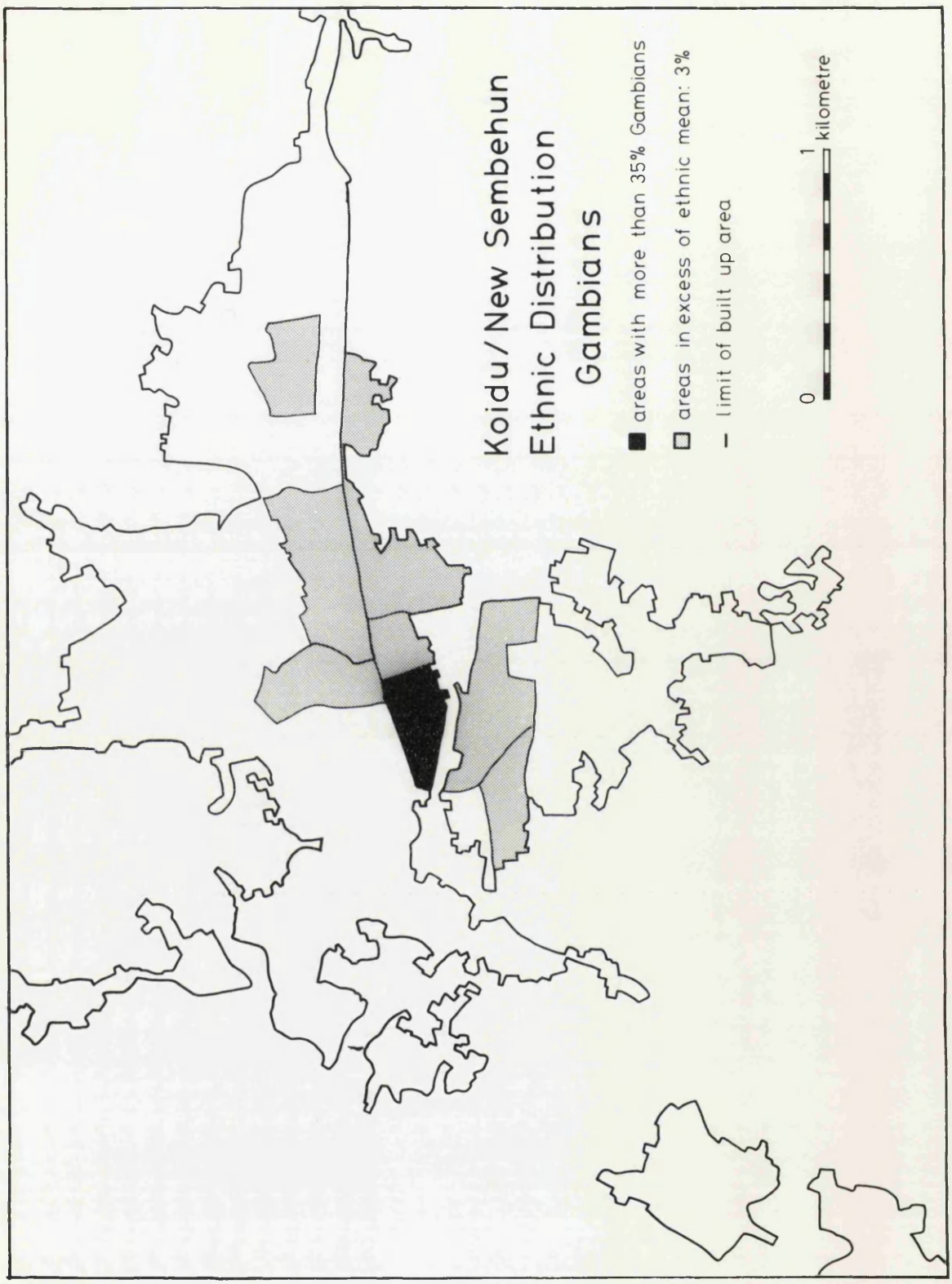

Figure 61. Ethnic distribution: Gambians

Mandingo households. They are very centralised with recent extensions outwards along the new Masingbi Road. As commercial people who have been in the diamond mining, buying and smuggling business since the beginning of the diamond rush, it is usual to find the Mandingo close to the C.B.D.

Figure 59 shows the distribution of the Mende, who are mainly concentrated in the south of New Sembehun. Otherwise concentrations occur in more peripheral parts of the town. Those closer to the centre are often there as office workers and other institutional employees, such as teachers, hospital workers and District Office clerks. The early development of education in the south of the country gave the Mende a headstart in finding westernised employment.

The distribution of the Kissi, figure 60, shows a considerable concentration in the eastern part of Koidu, especially Hill Station, in parts of which they are dominant, such as area 27 where 58% of all the men are Kissi. The Kissi come from eastern Kono and neighbouring areas of Guinea. Some wealthy Kissi businessmen built houses in the Fillie Drive/Hollywood area in the west of Koidu. Houses and households in Hill Station are very large, with most people being engaged in diamond mining. High proportions of the men are employed by the household head, who is often likely to be a diamond dealer.

Gambians,[15] shown in figure 61, are centrally concentrated, along with the Susu, Mandingo and early Fula immigrants. While each of these commercial groups has a central concentration, the

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15. The term 'Gambians' is used here for all those of minority ethnic groups, excluding Fula and Mandingo, who are usually referred to as Maraka . The ethnic groups included with 'Gambians' are the Serahuli, Wolof and Bambara.

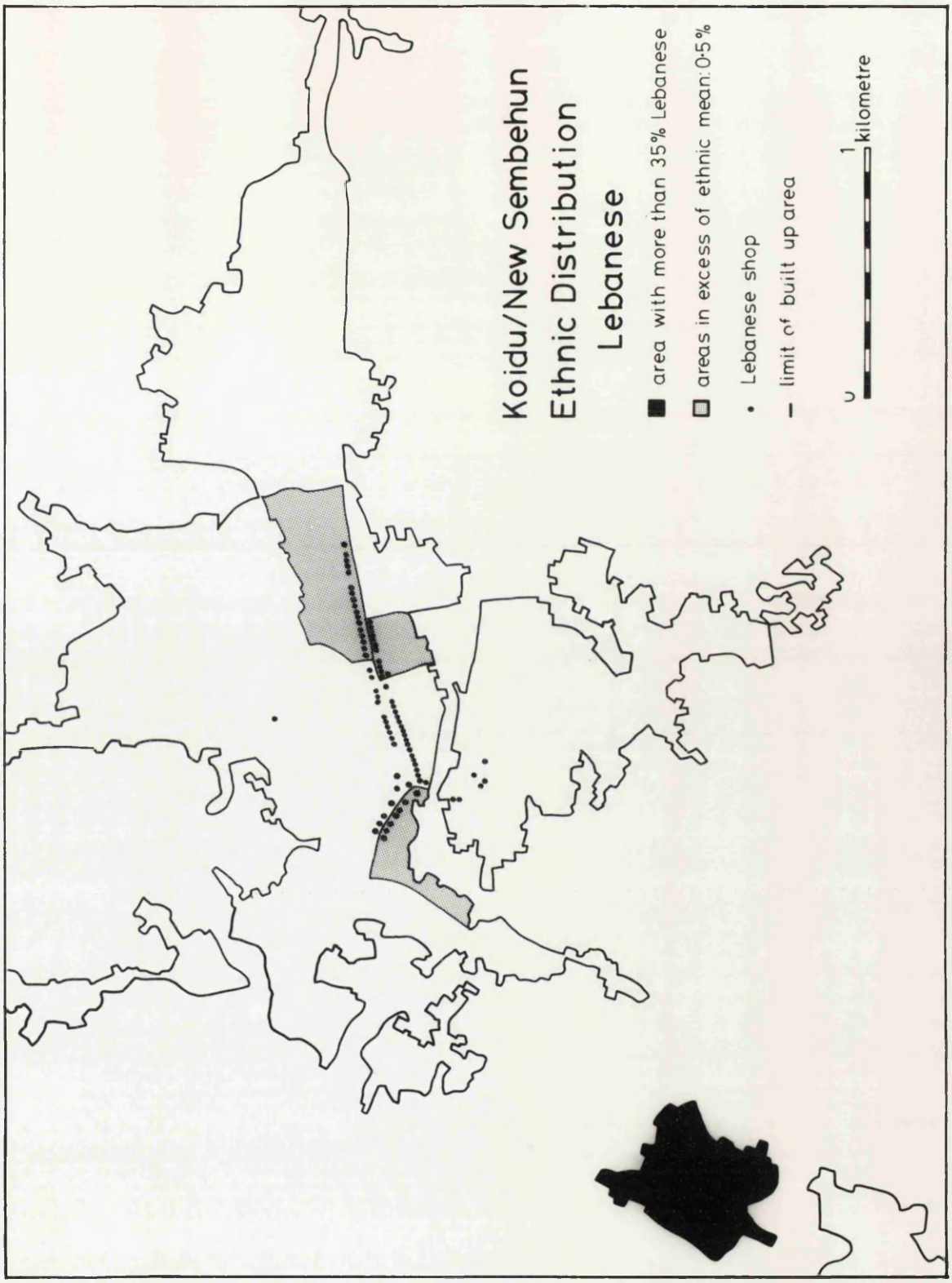

Figure 62. Ethnic distribution: Lebanese

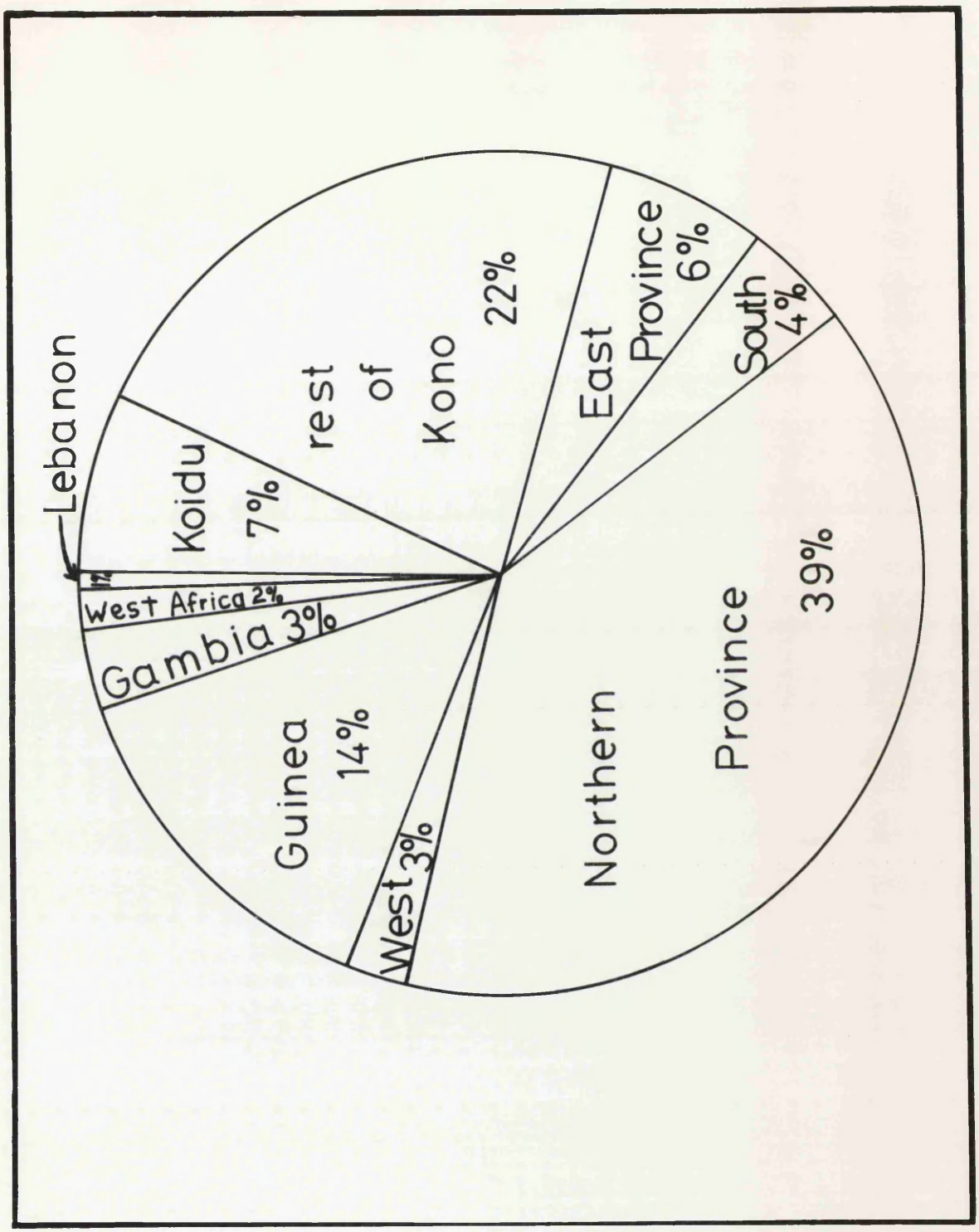

Figure 63. Birthplace of adult male population of Koidu in 1976

Fula tend towards the west, the Mandingo more to the north and Gambians more towards the east, but with considerable overlap. They are all mainly in Gbense chiefdom, close to the more active sector of the C.B.D. Maraka corner is clearly an accurate description of area 15, which also contains many Fula and Mandingo from the western Sudanic countries.

The street fronts of the C.B.D. are predominantly Lebanese, but because of the small size of the population, the sample of the Lebanese is not as reliable. Thus figure 62, showing the distribution of Lebanese also indicates their shops, taken from the land use survey, figure 43. Streets containing Lebanese shops are consequently above the ethnic mean. Area 4, New Lebanon, is the new residential suburb outside the town into which many wealthy Lebanese traders have moved to escape pressures of commercial life in Koidu. The diamond business is especially taxing as one large diamond can either make or destroy a dealer. New Lebanon is 75% Lebanese.

Thus there exists a definite spatial pattern of ethnic distribution in Koidu. Birthplace follows a similar spatial pattern. Figure 63 shows the birthplace of the adult male population of Koidu. Those who were born in Koidu are either young men or old farmers who lived in the villages, which now form part of the Koidu conurbation, before the diamond era. As in the small boom towns the largest proportion of men came from the Northern Province. Most migrants from the Northern Province had come directly from there, with the main source district being Koinadugu which sent 15.5% of all the men in Koidu. The rounded percentage for Lebanon includes a Palestinian and an Egyptian. The Palestinian was stateless.

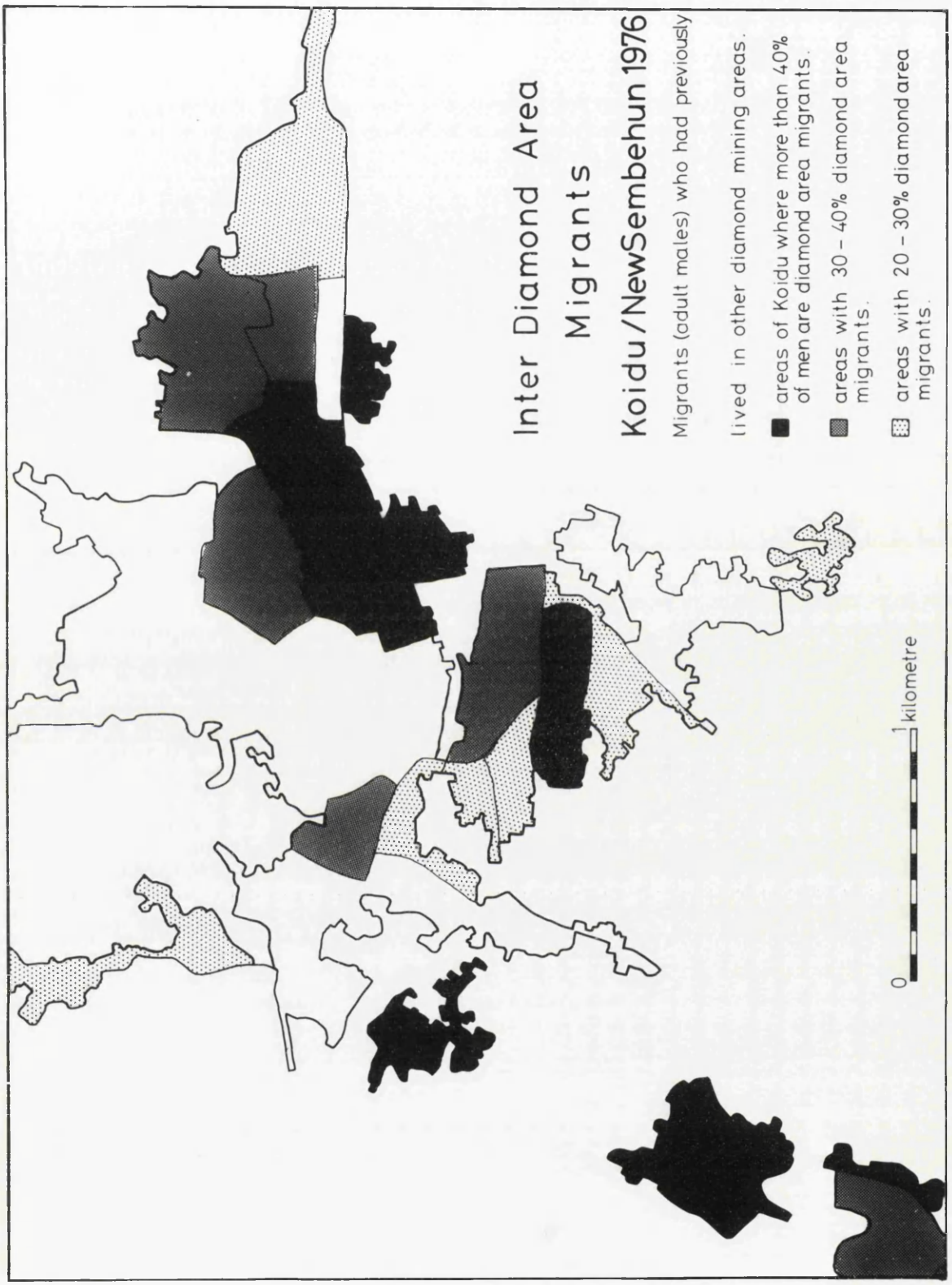

Figure 64. Spatial distribution of inter-diamond area migrants in Koidu in 1976

Of the Kono in Koidu, 96.3% had previously been resident elsewhere in Kono District before moving to Koidu. Of the non-Konos, 21.3% had previously been resident elsewhere in Kono. The majority of immigrants had come direct from their chiefdom of birth to Koidu. Immigrants from areas outside Gbense and Tankoro chiefdoms accounted for 93% of all adult males in Koidu. All adult males who had previously lived in another diamond area before coming to Koidu are described here as inter diamond area migrants. Most of these migrants had previously lived in other towns of central Kono, although some had come from Bo and Kenema Districts. The proportion of these inter diamond area migrants was 22.7% of all adult males, or 22.5%of all migrants. This proportion is higher than in Peyima and Sukudu, the declining diamond boom towns, about the same as in Njalla, and considerably lower than the proportions of inter diamond area migrants in Bumpeh, Ndoyogbor and Bongema, the newly expanded diamond boom settlements. This suggests that the floating mining population is not as significant in Koidu as in the settlements experiencing a diamond boom. Koidu is less of a boom town and any present commercial or urban attraction cannot be attributed solely to the lure of diamonds.

There is a relationship between ethnic group and occupation, especially diamond mining; see figure 67, which shows diamond mining by enumeration area. The spatial pattern of inter diamond area migrants, figure 64, closely resembles that of diamond mining distribution, figure 67. Most inter diamond area migrants are in the eastern part of Koidu, especially Hill Station, the predominantly Kissi area. New Sembehun and peripheral areas of the west

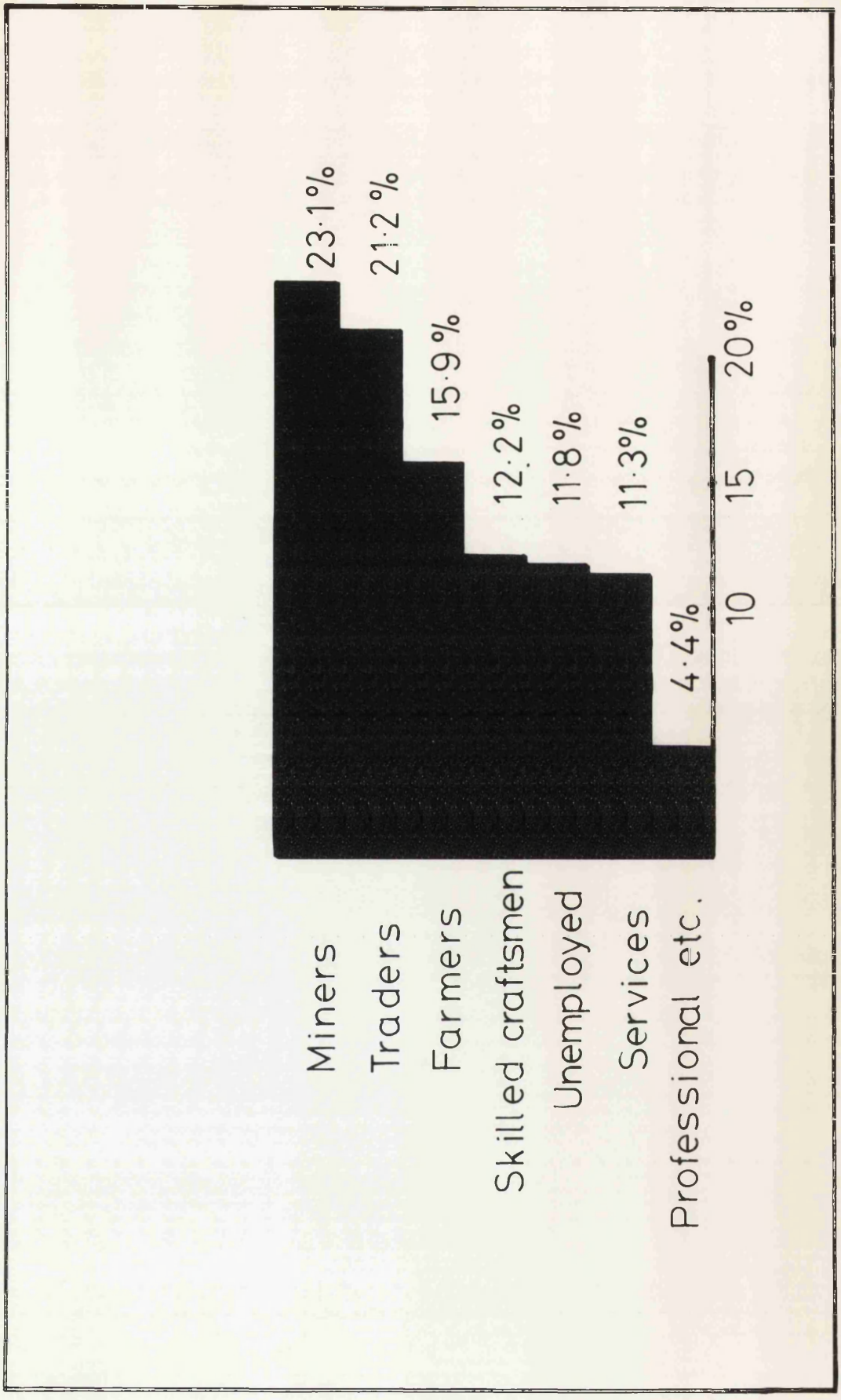

Figure 65. Occupations of adult males in Koidu in 1976

also have high proportions of inter diamond area migrants; the Lebanese as dealers, the Temne and Fula as diggers, all of whom are concentrated more towards the western end of the town. Kensay, area 5, is a centre for illicit mining and shows a high proportion of inter diamond area migrants, but few men living there admitted to being miners.

Of the Kono 13% had been born in Koidu or the villages that were later swallowed up by the conurbation: many of them bewildered old farmers who had seen their fields torn up, their sacred sites built upon, their culture swamped, their morality scorned; in great contrast to old Chief Kaimachende who passes his days in the large room built on the roof of his three storey house, looking out with satisfaction upon the town that he created. Only 0.4% of non-Kono men had been born in Koidu. Most Kono had lived there longer than most non-Kono . The average length of time lived in Koidu by Kono men was 13.7 years, while the average for non-Kono was 7.1 years. Time lived in the town shows a relationship to distance from the C.B.D. and other core areas, as these central places contain the original populations. Kono, Mende, Maraka and Mandingo have generally been in Koidu longer than the Temne and Koinadugu Fula.

The 1969 government household survey showed that in Koidu and Yengema 7.1% of the labour force was in professional, administrative and clerical occupations, 37.7% in trade, 8.3% farmers and miners, 10.3% in transport and communications, 25.9% craftsmen and labourers, 10.1% service and recreation workers, and 0.5% unknown. The 1976 survey of adult males in Koidu showed a very different situation, see figure 65. The immediate difference between the

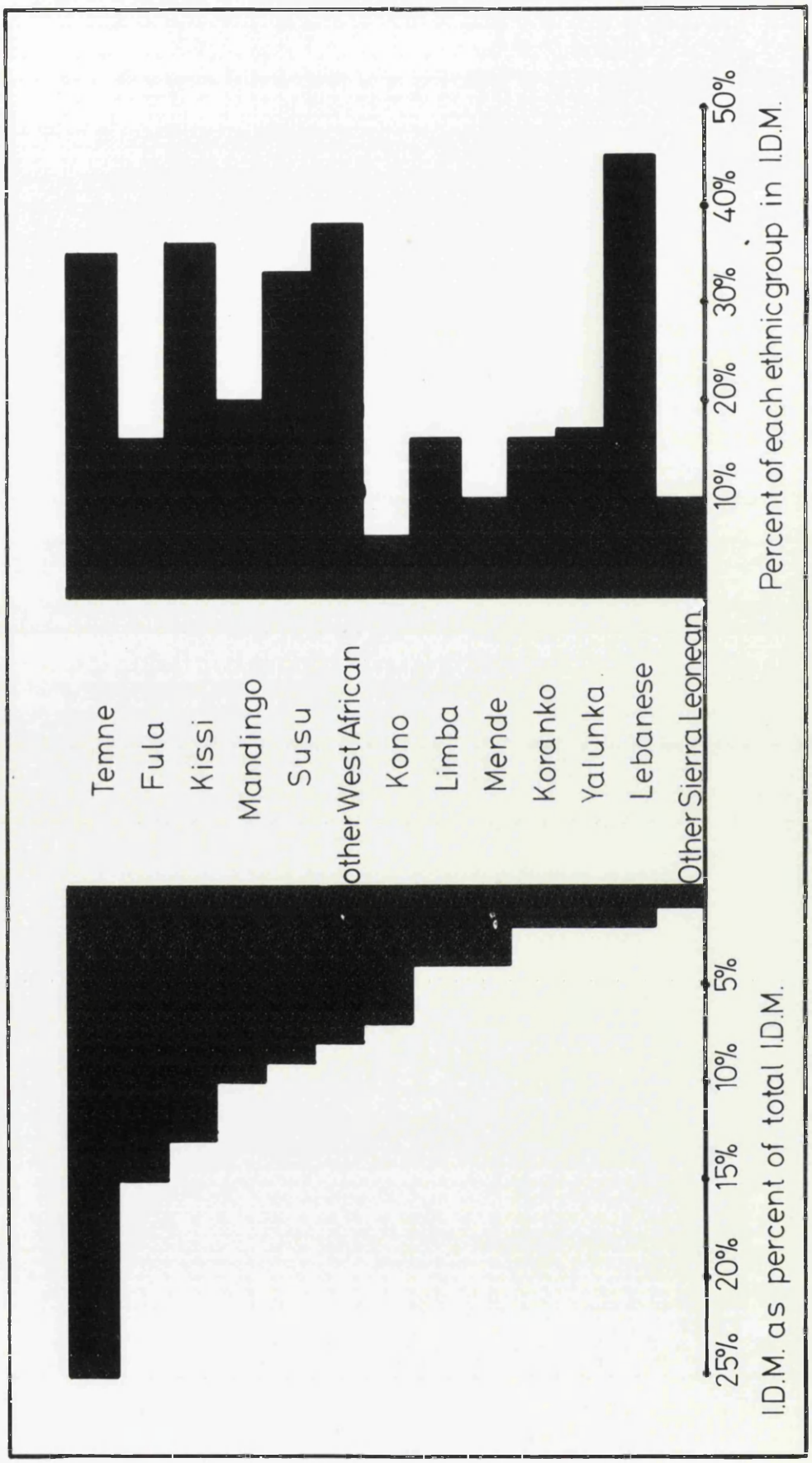

Figure 66. Illicit diamond mining and dealing by ethnic group in Koidu in 1976

two surveys is that the 1976 survey is of Koidu only. The 1969 survey classified N.D.M.C. diggers, and other diamond diggers, as labourers. Also the 1976 survey included a larger area of Koidu than in 1969, bringing in peripheral settlements which were not at that time part of Koidu/New Sembehun, and which contain higher proportions of miners and farmers than the central areas. The 1969 survey took place just before the 1969/70 diamond rush got under way.

Of the men surveyed in 1976 14.5% did not respond to the detailed questions on occupation etc. Most of these were old men and school students etc., although some were simply suspicious of questions. Figure 65 shows mining to be the main occupation, but in no way dominant. If women's occupations are added to the figures for men, mining drops to 20.4% of the labour force and trading assumes the dominant position with 25.8%. A large proportion of the population is unemployed, working sometimes as labourers, diamond diggers or hawkers. The unemployed sector is likely to grow as the diamonds run out. Of the Kono 18% were in service occupations, but only 9.5% of non-Kono, although numerically there were almost twice as many non-Kono as Kono in this sector. Similarly in professional and office work, 7.5% or 47 Kono were employed, and 3.6%, 82, of the non-Kono. Skilled trades were in non-Kono hands, 308 or 13.4% of non-Kono to 50, only 8.0%, of Kono. Farming accounted for 31.6% of all Kono, while 46.2% of all farmers were Kono. These proportions are not as high as in the smaller towns where agriculture is almost entirely a Kono preserve.

The two major occupations have been related more closely to

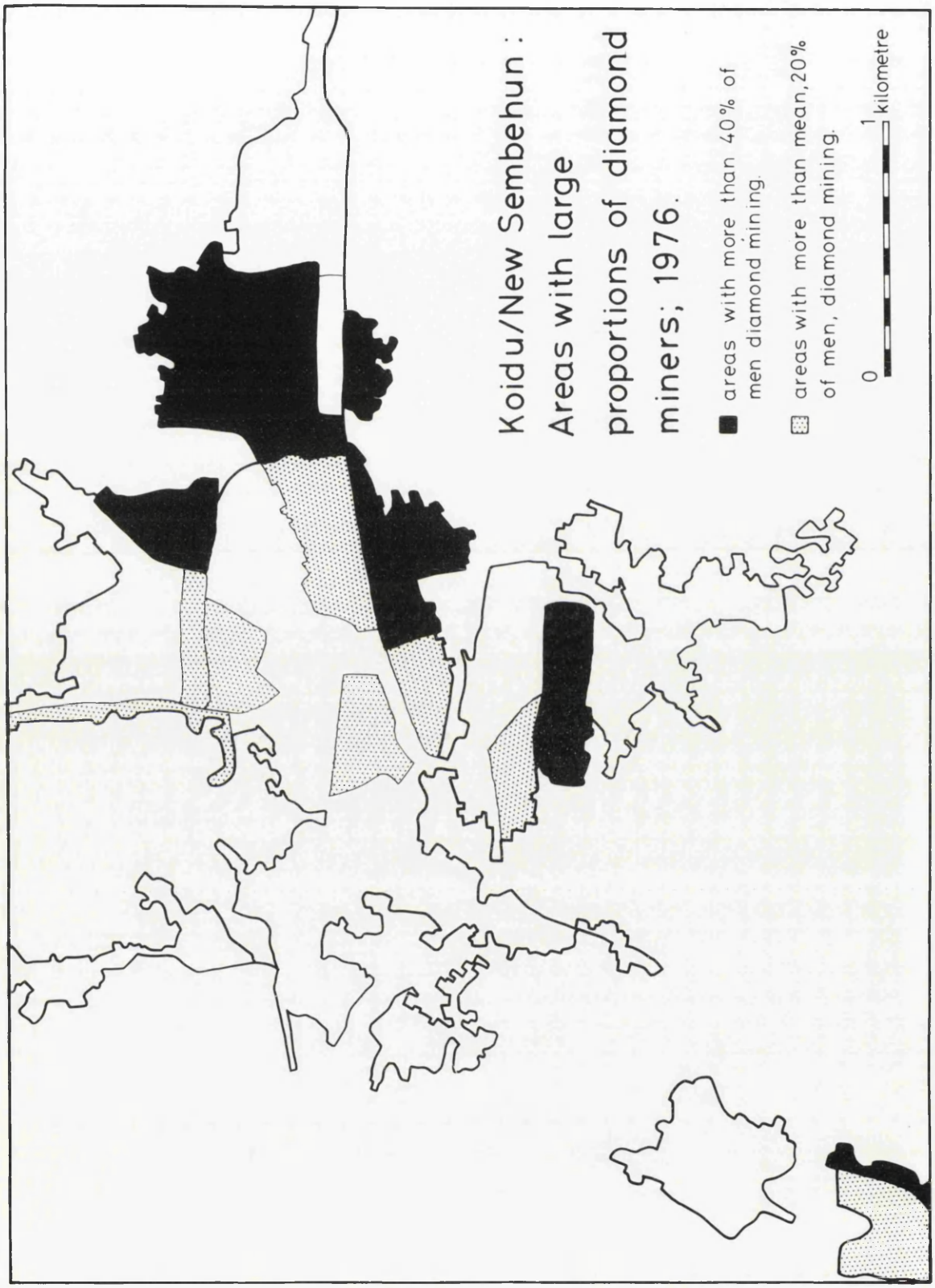

Figure 67. Areas of Koidu with large proportions of diamond miners

ethnic groups. Figure 66 shows illicit mining and diamond buying by ethnic group. The bar graph on the left shows the percentage of I.D.M.'s of each ethnic group, out of the total number of I.D.M.'s. I.D.M. here includes diamond buying, both legal and illegal, as in Koidu this trade cannot be divorced from illicit mining. The Temne are the major group of illicit miners with 25%, then Fula 15%, Kissi 13% and Mandingo 10% etc. Of all N.D.M.C. workers 56% were Kono and 16% were Mende. Proportions of other ethnic groups employed by N.D.M.C. were relatively insignificant. Adding I.D.M. figures to N.D.M.C. employee figures, 15% of the Kono were engaged in all types of mining and 16% of the Mende. The percentage of each ethnic group engaged in I.D.M. and I.D.B., but excluding N.D.M.C., is shown on the right of the bar graph, figure 66. Of the Lebanese 45% were engaged in the diamond trade, as entrepreneurs and dealers, while 38% of the Maraka were in I.D.M. and dealing and 36% of the Kissi. Although these groups do not entirely dominate the diamond trade, diamond mining dominates them. Other groups heavily involved in I.D.M. in Koidu were the Temne, 35%, and Susu with 33% in I.D.M. Kono and Mende, with the lowest proportions involved in I.D.M., have higher proportions in diamond mining, as a result of employment by N.D.M.C.

Figure 67 shows areas in Koidu with large proportions of diamond miners, including all N.D.M.C. workers. Hill Station is the main diamond mining area. In area 28 61% of all men are diamond miners and dealers. Of all the diamond dealers in Koidu 41% are in area 29 alone, while 50% of all dealers are within Hill Station, areas 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31. Another 30% of all dealers live at the eastern part of central Koidu, in areas 21, 24, 25 and 26.

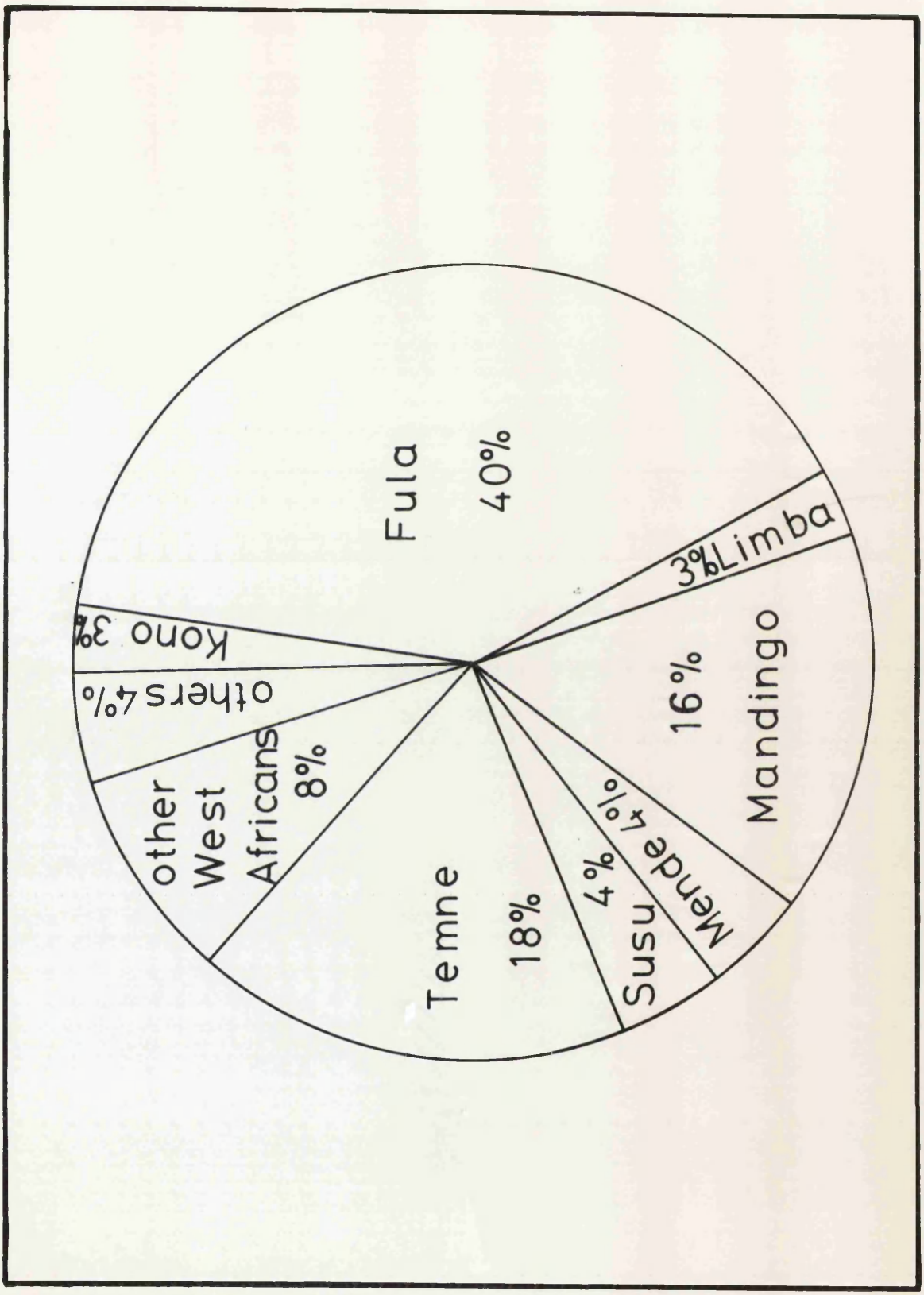

Figure 68. Ethnicity of adult male traders in Koidu in 1976

Within these areas there are also high proportions of I.D.M.'s. In the whole of Koidu 17.9% of the workforce is mining illicitly and a further 2% are dealers. As the Lebanese, both diamond dealers and other businessmen, only form 0.5% of the population of Koidu, the vast majority of diamond dealers must be African. However, it is likely that the Lebanese deal in the bulk of the trade, having the money to buy the very large stones.

Trading is also dominated by specific ethnic groups. Figure 68 shows the ethnic groups of adult male traders in Koidu in 1976. The Fula comprised 40% of the traders and 42% of all Fula were traders. Of all Mandingo 32%, of the Temne 24%, of the Lebanese 30% and of other West Africans 39.5% were traders, although their respective shares of commerce were considerably smaller.

Table 74. Percentage of each Ethnic Group engaged in Trade in Koidu in 1976.

Ethnic Group	% per group	Ethnic Group	% per group
Kono	2½	Susu	16
Fula	42	Temne	24
Kissi	1½	Yalunka	11
Koranko	9	Other Sierra Leoneans	12½
Limba	12	Other West Africans	39½
Mandingo	32	Lebanese	30
Mende	10	Total	20

Nineteen enumeration areas had more than 21% (the mean percentage of traders in all of Koidu) of adult males engaged in trade. Eight of these areas, 14, 15, 21, 32, 33, 11, 12 and 34, are immediately adjacent to the C.B.D. The remaining areas, 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 16, 19, 20, 30 and 38, are all along main roads or contain subsidiary commercial centres. There is thus a relation-

ship between the high proportion of traders in an area, and the distribution of commercial functions as shown by the land use survey.

The ethnic/spatial pattern of occupations and residential areas is not a rigid structure. Rather, it is the spatial expression of the tendency whereby migrants arriving in a strange town seek out people with whom to stay, who speak their own language. The occupation that an immigrant might then follow may sometimes be influenced by the occupations of the people with whom he lodges. This factor may intensify the ethnic distribution of such occupations as mining, farming and trading.

Only 14% of the women in Koidu had some sort of occupation outside the family compound. This is considerably lower than in the six boom towns of Kamara and Nimikoro, where 24% of the women worked outside the compound. The highest proportion of working women was found in the rural villages where almost all the women helped in farming. Although that is the case amongst the Kono, Muslim women, such as the Fula, also usually work in agriculture when living in a village. The tendency in the towns is for the women to be kept indoors, especially amongst the Muslims, although the Temne are an exception to this.

Some women sell fruit, vegetables and firewood from the front of the house and 25.3% of the households in Koidu had a shop or store within or adjacent to the house. In most cases these were very small, often just a table displaying cheap consumer items, no different from the small stores and stalls described in the snaller boom towns. Most of them, being little more than stalls, were too small to be classified as small shops in the land use survey. But they do provide extra income. Usually customers are

served by any member of the family who happens to be nearby, often a child, so that it is not possible to state that any one person has the occupation of shopkeeper.

Table 75. Occupations of working women in Koidu.

	% Total	% Kono	% Non-Kono
Agriculture	31.2	18.8	12.3
Trade	61.5	15.2	46.3
Skilled trades	0.2	-	0.2
Services	2.4	1.6	0.8
Professional and Clerical	4.8	2.4	2.4
Total	100.0	38.0	62.0

The proportion of working women who are Kono is quite high, although the largest proportion of them are in agriculture, an occupation in which they are predictably dominant. Trading is mainly in the hands of non-Kono. It is the main female occupation, in which a significant proportion of Kono women are involved. This is mainly market trading; the sale of fresh food and household items. A large proportion of market traders are Temne women. Small restaurants and cooked food stalls are all run by women. A number of market traders are Yoruba women, who dominate the sale of cheap consumer items, children's ready made clothing, cheap shoes, ornaments, dishes and kitchen implements etc. Most of the women who work as farmers tend vegetable gardens in areas close to the edge of the town, but they may often bring the produce into town and sell it in the market.

The trade carried out by women in Koidu is probably small in total cash flow, when compared to the diamond trade, but in terms of the volume of produce and the essential food items involved, it

is crucial to the day to day life of the town. Many women feed and clothe their children without a great deal of support from their husbands, so that in times of recession it is quite common to find a woman entirely supporting the family through farming and trade, while her husband is unemployed or away searching for work. Women with children are less likely to move on to the next place as soon as boom conditions recede.

Table 76. Number of children per household in each of the forty enumeration areas in Koidu.

Area	Children	Area	Children
A. Adjacent to C.B.D.		C. Semi-peripheral	
14	6.9	5	6.3
15	8.5	30	11.6
21	15.2	16	9.4
25	4.7	39	4.2
13	7.0	22	3.5
32	10.9	29	8.6
33	5.1	19	6.1
10	7.8	27	5.6
35	3.5		
11	6.6	D. Peripheral	
12	6.5	40	4.5
24	9.9	6	3.5
34	5.1	4	2.7
		17	6.3
B. Outer Central		31	3.6
36	2.4	3	5.0
23	5.0	2	4.9
20	13.3	1	2.7
37	6.1		
26	9.4		
8	4.4		
9	8.9		
28	7.0		
38	4.4		
7	4.7		
18	8.6		

There was an average of 1.45 children to one woman and 6.6 children per household for the whole of Koidu. The enumeration areas are ranked by distance from the C.B.D., showing that generally households closer to the C.B.D. had more children than those

furthest from the centre. The pattern of family size does not seem to be influenced by the spatial/ethnic pattern. It is most likely that areas furthest from the centre were more recently settled, while the central and core areas have larger more established families. The mean number of children per household in areas immediately adjacent to the C.B.D., areas A, is 7.5, in the outer central areas B, it is 6.7, in the semi-peripheral areas C, it is 6.9, and in the peripheral areas D, it is 4.1.

Table 77. Education of children related to the ethnic group of the householders - Kono or non-Kono.

	Total %	Kono	Non-Kono
Children in Primary School	30.9	34.7	28.9
Children in Secondary School	9.7	12.0	8.5
Total in School	40.6	46.7	37.4

The pattern of education of children is less straightforward as there is a relationship to ethnic group. As households are ethnically diverse the term Kono or non-Kono household merely indicates the dominant ethnic group. A much higher proportion of children are in school in Koidu than in the smaller boom towns. Kono households send higher proportions of children to school than non-Kono households. Primary schools includes established Koran schools.

Children's school fees are usually paid by a male member of the family, often the father, but sometimes an uncle, brother or cousin. The regular wage earners receive most requests for help with school fees. As primary school fees are relatively low, finding the cash is less of a problem.

Table 78. Percentages of children in school in each of the forty enumeration areas of Koidu, ranked by distance from the C.B.D.

All statistics in percentages

	Area	Primary	Secondary	Total
A.	14	30	22	52
	15	26	9	35
	21	21	11	32
	25	23	2	25
	13	35	9	44
	32	33	17	50
	33	36	10	46
	10	48	20	68
	35	31	7	38
	11	36	9	45
	12	34	5	39
	24	30	17	47
	34	57	6	63
B.	36	35	12	47
	23	24	4	28
	20	28	7	35
	37	33	9	42
	26	21	7	28
	8	55	11	66
	9	22	4	26
	28	36	9	45
	38	34	9	43
	7	53	2	55
	18	21	8	29
C.	5	30	0	30
	30	34	13	47
	16	27	11	38
	39	32	7	39
	22	37	14	51
	29	38	10	48
	19	21	2	23
	27	21	1	22
D.	40	15	11	26
	6	43	11	54
	4	56	15	71
	17	8	5	13
	31	35	18	53
	3	26	6	32
	2	43	16	59
	1	52	11	63

A number of factors may thus affect the decision to send a child to school; the ability of parents or relatives to find the school fees, the religion of the family, as Muslims are less likely to send their children to Christian dominated schools than non-Muslims, the size of the family, proximity to a school and the attitude towards education, which may, for example, be influenced by relatives who achieved success and status either with or without formal education. Attendance at school has status, hence the desire of children to go to school, and of parents or relatives to send them, if able. Some of these factors are influenced by ethnic origin as has been shown by the higher proportion of children in school who came from predominantly Kono households.

As the survey was carried out during a school holiday many households contained secondary school students who were not actually at school in Koidu, but who had come home from schools elsewhere in Kono or Sierra Leone. A few school students over the age of fifteen years are included, although the percentages are expressed as a proportion of the total number of children under fifteen years. Attendance at secondary school is very high for the first two years but drops off rapidly in the upper forms of the schools.

There are wide differences in the percentages of school attendance shown by Table 78. There is no discernible pattern related to distance from the C.B.D. or the number of children per household, or specific ethnic areas. Areas with above average attendance at secondary schools are generally wealthy, although some rich areas like Maraka Corner, number 15, and New Site, area

20, have below average proportions at Secondary School. Both of these areas are strongly Muslim. New Lebanon, area 4, has the highest proportion of children at school, while area 14, Gbongbor Street, has the highest proportion at Secondary School. Kensay village, area 5, Kamadu village, area 17, the strongly Temne areas 7, 25, and 19, and the Kissi area 27, all have very low proportions of children attending secondary school. Areas with high proportions of children attending primary school nearly all have close proximity to a school. Proportions of children in primary schools in the central areas of Koidu are more consistent and closer to the norm than in peripheral areas.

The demand for education is increasing constantly, schools are expanding, with some primary schools already on the shift system with separate morning and afternoon schools, new secondary schools are opening and the standard of education in Arabic schools is being raised to compete with the state primary schools. There is a Muslim secondary school in Koidu, offering the usual school subjects with a strong emphasis on Arabic and Islamic studies. The increasing demand from the population is making mass education more likely. There are strong pressures on schools from parents and local politicians to allow more school places at a lower cost. Secondary education is no longer only for the elite, but is increasingly open to all, with primary schooling offering basic literacy etc. Secondary schools are still judged by their G.C.E. results, but with a school being praised for its fine results if ten fifth form students attain five O level passes each, when the first form starts with up to two hundred children, it is clear that a high drop out rate is both expected and toler-

ated. As central Kono is a destination for many migrants from the Northern Province, the area can be compared with Tonkolili and Koinadugu Districts. Koidu alone can offer as many secondary school places as these two districts, although it does not as yet have facilities for sixth form study or any sort of further education.

Conclusions on Koidu

Koidu is a modern African town. It developed as a response to a movement of the mass of the population. People came for the diamonds and stayed for the urban lifestyle. The very size and development of theplace makes it unlikely that an absolute decline to the status of a ghost town will take place. Koidu surpassed the diamond boom phase, a stage which the smaller case study settlements in Nimikoro and Kamara have not passed. The study of the six smaller towns suggested that even they are likely to continue in existence as small towns, offering some aspects of the elusive urban attractions. Koidu's problems in coming to terms with the end of the diamond era may have serious consequences for other parts of Sierra Leone (Gervis, 1970). The type of place it has become will very likely influence the future course and development of the town.

The basic conclusions of this chapter are that people have settled in Koidu, by building houses and raising families; that a considerable diversity of occupations, commercial and industrial functions and urban facilities has developed; and that a spatial/ethnic pattern has occurred, which results in quite distinct areas of the town.

Zoning by distance from the C.B.D. is strong in terms of urban land use, but relatively weak in terms of population characteristics. The urban morphology of Koidu is heterogenous as a result of different ethnic groups bringing settlement forms to different core areas that have subsequently grown and coalesced. In its overall form Koidu is very different from the smaller settlements of Peyima, Sukudu, Bumpeh, Njalla, Ndoyogbor and Bongema. There are many similarities in house construction in all of these towns, but in Koidu there is greater use of modern materials and the provision of facilities like piped water and electricity. In Koidu there is a slight pattern of decrease in the level of modern materials and facilities with distance from the C.B.D.

Population figures of Koidu present problems in assessing the size and growth of the town. It has grown exceptionally fast during the diamond era, but appears to have levelled off or even to have declined in size by the mid-1970's. During the late 1960's to mid-1970's the greatest expansion in population increase and building of houses took place in the more peripheral parts of the town. Immigrants coming to Koidu during this time mainly went to stay in these areas, contributing further to variations in the spatial pattern.

Population characteristics of the age/sex structure and place of origin indicate the dominance, and source areas, of immigrants. The trend from 1963 to 1976, in the six smaller towns, was for greater proportions of migrants to come from the Northern Province, especially Koinadugu District, and Guinea. Although detailed birthplace figures were unavailable for Koidu in 1963, the 1976

survey shows the same pattern of dominance of the Norther Province, and especially Koinadugu, as the major source area of migrants.

Inter-diamond area migrants were not dominant in Koidu in the way they were in the Nimikoro case studies. Most migrants had come directly to Koidu from the chiefdom in which they were born, which suggests that step migration is not a dominant feature of the migration process. Inter-diamond area migrants were concentrated in the same areas that contain high proportions of diamond diggers. This group of migrants forms the floating diamond mining population, least likely to remain in the area once the diamond deposits are exhausted.

Households in Koidu are large, with many children, and occupy quite large buildings or more than one building. There is a decrease in the number of children per household with distance from the C.B.D., although population density varies considerably from area to area. A high proportion of children in Koidu are sent to school, and there are very few households without children, or composed entirely of adult males. Relationships by blood or employment to the head of the household are much looser in Koidu than in the smaller settlements. Households are ethnically diverse - a fact also noted by Gamble (1964) about Lunsar and Kenema.

There is an ethnic/spatial pattern whereby different ethnic groups tend to be concentrated in specific areas of the town. In the smaller boom towns of Kamara and Nimikoro there tends to be a concentration of different ethnic groups in different towns. There is thus a pattern that migrants generally live amongst people of

their own tribe. There is also a relationship between ethnic group and occupation, especially in mining, trading and farming. Temne, Kissi and Fula are heavily involved in mining, Lebanese and Kissi in diamond dealing; Fula, Mandingo and Susu in trade; and the Kono in farming. As a result of this there tends to be some spatial pattern of occupations related to the concentration of ethnic groups. Trading is related to the distribution of the major commercial areas.

There is a considerable diversity of occupations in Koidu. The land use survey shows the distribution of commerce, industry and services within the town. The main C.B.D. is in Gbense chiefdom, extending to a secondary C.B.D. in New Sembehun, with several small commercial centres in the core areas of theoutlying suburbs. Manufacturing industries like tailoring, leather work and jewellery are all highly concentrated in the centre of the town.

All of these commercial and service facilities serve not only the people of Koidu, but also the population of the surrounding towns and villages, which make up the extensive central Kono urban area extending as far west as Bumpeh, taking in Yengema, Motema, Simbakoro and Old Sefadu. Transport and communications are well developed and cheap, so that individual mobility is very high in the central area. As a market, administrative, educational and political centre Koidu serves the whole of Kono. The population of central Kono is predominantly non-Kono, with many of the immigrants having come from Northern Province and Guinea. Thus, Koidu's attraction as an urban centre spreads to adjacent parts of eastern Northern Province and to Guinea.

The Koidu Town Council has gained effective control of planning in the town, and its importance has eclipsed the power of the Paramount Chiefs of Gbense and Tankoro to interfere in the affairs of Koidu. The New Masingbi Road has brought Koidu closer to the rest of Sierra Leone, benefitting business and trade although there is some danger that it may now have to compete with Freetown.

Koidu still lacks alternative employment and industries. Given modest government investment in new ventures the town can thrive in the post diamond era. A prosperous Koidu, holding its population, is not only an advantage for the development of eastern Sierra Leone, and especially Kono, but it will also ease the wider problems of urbanisation in Sierra Leone.

CONCLUSION

This study has described the growth and proliferation of settlements in central Kono, analysing the diversification and increase, both of urban functions and of the urban populations. This has been carried out at the macro-level through the study of the overall urban growth in central Kono and at the micro-level through case studies of selected settlements. Changes in settlements and population have been considered both temporally and spatially.

Consideration of thehistory of Kono has emphasised the remoteness and underdevelopment of the area. The diamond rush occurred outside the control both of themining company and of the colonial government, leading to the unusual situation whereby unskilled Africans, lacking machinery and capital, were nevertheless able to equal and even to exceed the production of the European capital-intensive mining company. Diamond mining thus provided employment for many thousands of Africans, who worked illicitly in Kono and as licensed miners elsewhere in the diamond fields. As a result of the diamond rush there were many changes in social structure, politics, culture, religion and agriculture. At the same time fairly rapid development occurred throughout the country, especially after 1960, as the improved infrastructure enabled better facilities, an expanded marketing system and increased individual mobility. The diamond fields emerged as containing the major developed urban areas of Sierra Leone outside the capital Freetown. Central Kono contained the richest of the diamond fields. The illicit nature of much of the mining in Kono meant that urbanisation took place in the face of attempts to prevent immigration and to restrict the growth of boom towns.

At the macro-level, this study has revealed that migration of very large numbers of people into central Kono took place during the diamond era, reaching two main peaks - in the initial diamond rush of 1954 to 1956 and the later rush of 1969/70. An increase occurred in the numbers and sizes of settlements. The population of Kono, especially in the central diamond mining chiefdoms, diversified in terms of ethnic origin and occupation. A hierarchy of settlements developed and these may be ranked in terms of size and function. During the diamond era settlements continued to grow rapidly and to widen their functions. The population has now become concentrated into larger settlements, and a well integrated transport network has developed to serve almost all settlements in central Kono. Distance between settlements has decreased dramatically, as a result both of improvements in transportation and the increase in the numbers of settlements. Changes have also occurred in urban morphology with a remarkable diversity of urban patterns resulting from the uncontrolled immigration of immigrants with often widely contrasting cultures.

At the micro-level the case studies of the small diamond boom towns have indicated a high degree of permanence in the settlement of a large section of the immigrants and indigenous population. There are generally more similarities than differences between the small boom towns, even though case studies were selected to represent different and apparently contrasting features of central Kono mining settlements. Houses are constructed in new modern styles and often with imported materials. Family structure and house ownership suggest a generally stable, settled population,

although a floating mining population, mainly of immigrant young men, can be identified. Most immigrants come from the Northern Province of Sierra Leone. Occupation shows a strong relationship to ethnic origin, mining especially being in the hands of immigrants. Diamond mining is the most important single occupation in the mining towns, but is not usually markedly dominant. There is evidence of some step migration taking place up the scale of the urban hierarchy. An interesting pattern of migration has occurred between different mining settlements as boom conditions have fluctuated.

The study of Koidu represents a description of the major boom town and second city of Sierra Leone. However, the town shows many similarities in its population characteristics with the smaller boom towns. It is predominantly a commercial centre which contains an important mining sector. In central Kono, Koidu is primate in population size, town size and urban development.

It is especially interesting to observe the occurrence of some spatial ethnic pattern in Koidu. At the same time there is considerable mixing of cultures and ethnic groups. Occupations in Koidu are related to ethnic group, such that certain areas of Koidu show a dominance of specific occupations. Zoning by distance from the Central Business District is strong in terms of urban land use, but weak in terms of population characteristics.

The family structure, permanence of buildings and house ownership - amongst both immigrant non-Kono and Kono - is indicative of the degree of permanence of settlement of the population. Koidu has now acquired an urban attraction beyond the mere lure

of diamonds. Lying at the centre of an extended urban area, Koidu has now outgrown its diamond origins.

The smaller boom towns may decline, but there is evidence from the case studies that, even if they do, they are not likely to die out altogether. The concentration of population into larger settlements is an important part of the urbanisation process, even at the large village/small town size. Larger settlements offer an improved social life, better facilities, more opportunities, and higher status. Some urban immigrants might return to their villages to farm if it were really financially worthwhile. But for most people the urbanisation process is irreversible. The ending of the diamond era in Kono is not likely to result in an immediate exodus of people. Large scale emigration from the area is at least a possibility, although if it should occur it would not be back to the land, but would almost certainly be to Freetown, resulting in the exacerbation of tremendous social problems in that already overcrowded city. It seems likely, however, that limited small-scale mining may continue for many years, even after the mining company has closed down and departed. Koidu is no longer wholly dependent upon diamond mining, and in many of the small boom towns people have already turned to subsistence farming as a support, even while still mining.

In the long run, however, alternative employment must be found for the large urban population. Koidu is not likely to decline markedly as it is the commercial and administrative centre for Kono District. When N.D.M.C. closes down, however,

unemployment will soar and some large settlements, especially Yengema, will cease to have any economic viability. The economy of the whole area is likely to be depressed. When that moment is reached it is essential that the government acts to ease the problem, possibly by investing in plantations and cash crops, by setting up agricultural processing industries and by integrating rural and urban activities. If at that time the government fails to assist the area, then local support for the A.P.C. government is likely to erode still further with incalculable and damaging effects on political as well as economic and social stability throughout Sierra Leone.

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